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PICHEGRU.

Stewarton.

THE

REVOLUTIONARY PLUTARCH:

EXHIBITING THE MOST

DISTINGUISHED CHARACTERS,

LITERARY, MILITARY, AND POLITICAL,

In the Recent Annals of the

FRENCH REPUBLIC.

THE GREATER PART

FROM THE ORIGINAL INFORMATION

OF

A GENTLEMAN RESIDENT AT PARIS.

FOURTH EDITION.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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THE

REVOLUTIONARY PLUTARCH.

GENERAL PICHEGRU.

THAT offspring of rebellion, the French Republic, was from its cradle, and is still, surrounded by murderers and plunderers, and governed by men whose policy it is to dare every thing, and whose religion consists in respecting nothing, either sacred, eminent, or illustrious; who, in the name of liberty, plot the slavery of the world; and in holding out equality, meditate their own aggrandizement and the wretchedness and ruin of the universe: their fraternity is destruction, their alliance infamy, and their favours proscription or death. Every man who is not an accomplice, is regarded as an enemy, and punished as a traitor or a rebel. With them, guilt is

merit, and merit guilt; and it is as dangerous to be innocent, as it is a recommendation to power and advancement to be criminal or corrupt.

General Pichegru is a revolutionary phenomenon: he has passed through the blood and mire of the Revolution, without contracting a soil, and has obtained renown, and deserved the esteem of the good and the loyal, although he has obeyed the orders of regicides, and fought the battles of republican tyrants—more dangerous, as well as more numerous, than all other despotic rulers.

Under moral governments, where the law punishes the vicious, and justice recompenses and promotes the deserving, it is a duty, it is the interest of all, to be virtuous and loyal. Under republican France, on the contrary, poverty and contempt, imprisonment, exile, and the scaffold, await loyalty; while riches, honours, distinction, and a throne, are the pleasing prospectives for the accomplices of a rebellion, encouraged and sanctioned by success, approved or applauded by Frenchmen, and respected by foreigners. In this age of egotism, intrigue, and ambition, only to hesitate in the choice, is goodness; but to choose *the* former and decline the latter, is a greatness

seldom

seldom met with, and therefore so much the more praiseworthy. The particulars of General Pichegru's public and military life will prove that such an eminent character exists.

Pichegru, late a general of the French Republic, was born in 1761, at Arbois, in the province of Franche Comté. He began his studies at the college at Arbois, and continued and improved them in the same town, at the convent of the monks of the order called Minims. Shewing a great aptness, and a decided taste for the abstruse sciences, these monks persuaded him to teach philosophy and mathematics in a college of their order at Brienne.

Innovators, and declaimers against christianity and its religious institutions, have forgotten that Europe is indebted to the so-much-blamed and ridiculed solitary and devout inhabitants of monasteries, for the preservation of the sciences during the barbarous centuries of the middle ages; for the cultivation of them in the succeeding ones, and for the rapid advances that they have made within the last three centuries. Erasmus, Bacon, and Mallebranche, were friars; and Corneille, Descartes, Racine, and Voltaire, were educated by friars, as well as Richelieu, Mazarine, Turenne, Condé, and Eugene: Pichegru,

Moreau, Kleber, Desaix, and Buonaparte, the five best republican generals, among the thousand others who have figured since the Revolution, had friars for their instructors. What those guides and teachers of youth have effected, we all know; but time alone can shew what France has gained, by changing christian colleges into republican prytanees *, and creating atheistical philosophers the successors of christian priests.

Pichegru, in teaching the sciences to others, completed his own studies and information. As no man, nor any class of men, are without their foibles, to augment the number of their own order with subjects of genius and virtue, was the constant endeavour of the fathers of the Minim order. Pichegru was strongly entreated by them to begin his noviciate, and become one of their community; but, having a natural inclination for a military life, he enlisted, in 1779, in the first regiment of artillery. His officers soon observed the unusual knowledge and valuable dispositions of their recruit, and within six months he was made a serjeant. In 1780, he was, with a divi-

* Prytanees are the republican public schools in France, so called *after the* ancient Grecian Prytanees.

a division of the regiment to which he belonged, embarked for America; and during the last three years of that war, he had an opportunity of profiting from his vast learning, by practising what he knew from theory. His disposition to study, to improvement, and to labour, procured him many opportunities of observing with advantage every thing connected with a maritime war, and of greatly enlarging his own ideas by useful comparisons.

In 1789, Pichegru had the post of adjutant in his regiment, and was on the eve of being promoted to the rank of an officer; indeed, Pichegru had, several years before this period, been honoured with the confidence of his colonel, and entrusted with all the particular transactions and management of this regiment, both military and œconomical, and may therefore be said to have been its real chief; his reputation was then so well known and established, that the royalists wished him to emigrate, and the democrats promoted him, as an encouragement to serve the cause of the Revolution.

Pichegru believed, with many others, that the post of honour was the post of danger; and that the post of danger, for all loyal men, was where loyalty was proscribed, and probity and virtue

butchered or sent to the scaffold: and that these were his sentiments in 1789, the whole tenor of his life has proved.

When other revolutionary generals, as a Jourdan, a Hoche, a Vandamme, a Leibeau, and an Anselme, by intrigues or bloody deeds, ascended to the rank of generals in one leap, from common soldiers, Pichegru's modesty caused him to be promoted only by degrees and seniority; and if change had not shewn the value of his talents, and necessity and danger urged usurped power to employ them, he would probably have remained among the nameless thousands who have fought or died for a cause that they detested.

Pichegru soon had occasion to prove that he deserved the reputation which he enjoyed. In the latter part of the year 1790, the command was offered to him of a battalion of national guards, among whom several former commanders had tried in vain to introduce order and subordination. He accepted the offer, and in a short time established an exact discipline, solely by that firmness and vigour, as calm as uninterrupted, which have in such an eminent manner distinguished him during all his commands. This success caused him to be employed under the

ministry

ministry of Narbonne, in the autumn and winter of 1791, to organize, or assist other commanders in organizing, regularity and tactics among the national volunteers of no less than six departments*.

In 1792, after the Brissotine faction had forced the virtuous Louis XVI. to declare war against Austria, Pichegru was attached to the staff of the Army of the Rhine, under Custine; and he continued to serve in the same army during the spring and summer of 1793, when Biron, Beauharnois, and other generals, were its commanders, although he had already been advanced, first to the rank of general of brigade, and afterwards to that of a general of division.

In the autumn, or October the 18th, 1793, General Wurmser forced the lines of Weissemburgh. Some time before this, Valenciennes, Condé, and Duquesnoy, had surrendered to the English and Austrians, and *were taken possession of in the name of the Emperor of Germany*; the promise of the Prince of Cobourg to Dumourier, to settle a King of France upon his throne, having been laid aside. This impolitic conduct determined

* Dictionnaire Biographique; and Recueil d'Anecdotes, Brunswick, 1799, page 36, tom. i.

nished all true and loyal Frenchmen rather to join and serve under the colours of the Revolution, than to suffer their country to be invaded, conquered, and divided, by foreigners. Pichegru, therefore, accepted the command of the Army of the Rhine; regarding it as a duty, even at the risk of his own life, and, what was more, contrary to his known principles, to assist the regicides, but to preserve, if possible, his country from foreign dominion.

The Army of the Rhine had, for the last nine months, experienced repeated defeats; and one recently, by General Wurmser, at the taking of the lines of Weissemburgh, which scattered and nearly annihilated it, during its retreat, or rather flight, to Zornn.

It has with justice been remarked, that General Dumourier was the first French commander who, during the revolutionary war, taught Frenchmen how to fight; but Pichegru certainly was the first general who instructed his countrymen how to become victorious. In Alsace, as well as in Flanders, Pichegru found the territory of his country invaded, its armies disheartened and almost dispersed; and in neither country did he resign the command before he had fixed victory in his camp.

From

From the first day of his command over the Army of the Rhine, Pichegru occupied himself, not only to stop the farther progress of the enemy, but to restore among his own troops a long-lost discipline, as being absolutely necessary and indispensable, before he could act either on the offensive or defensive; but scarcely had he succeeded in this difficult task, and digested a plan of operations to deliver Alsace, and to pave the way for future victory, before the commissaries of the National Convention, seduced by General Hoche's declamations and boastings, put Pichegru under the orders of the latter. Hoche joined him with the Army of the Moselle; and he was forced to execute, as second under Hoche, his own projects, and see him appropriate to himself the whole glory of their success.

The modesty and prudence which have always characterized General Pichegru, induced him to be silent under this injury; and the only revenge that he took was worthy of him: *he was the first who*, on the 8th and 9th of December, 1793, *entered and forced the lines of Haguenau.*

He carried the redoubts of these lines by the bayonet, and the Austrians were even driven from the town with great slaughter. He had infused a new spirit into the troops; and it was deter-

mined, both on the part of the leader and the soldiery, either to conquer or perish. The heights of Reifhoffen, Jandershoffen, and Wrotte, deemed more impregnable than those of Jemappe, were therefore, on the 26th of the same month, stormed in succession. At length, after a series of battles hitherto unexampled in modern warfare, the republican army regained possession of Weissemburgh, the siege of Landau was raised, Fort Louis evacuated, and Keiserslautern, Germersheim, and Spires, submitted to the French under Pichegru.

Such was the sudden change effected by the confidence which his great talents and courage inspired; and such was, in consequence, become the spirit of enthusiasm with which the French soldiers on this frontier were actuated, that General Wurmser, who had but lately attempted to obtain Strasburgh by a secret negotiation, and Landau by force, was now obliged to retreat across the Rhine; while the Duke of Brunswick, astonished at the zeal and activity of the enemy, and uncertain of the ultimate intentions of Pichegru and Hoche, who now sustained the glory of their country, made a hasty retreat to cover Mentz, and soon withdrew from the command in disgust.

During

During the short but brilliant period of three months, that Pichegru had commanded the Army of the Rhine, neither his services nor his victories could preserve him from the then proscribing imputation and reproach of not being a sans-culottes general, or an anarchical jacobin, because his language was always, like his sentiments, that of a gentleman; and he had never carried a red cap, nor once frequented any jacobin club. It was not his merit, therefore, but the urgent necessity which Robespierre's Committee of Public Safety felt for his military talents, that preserved his life, and caused him, on the 5th of February, 1794, to be appointed commander in chief of the Army of the North.

Before he left Strasburgh, and resigned his former command, the conventional commissaries sent for him, and told him, "that all the former disasters of France originated from its generals not being true sans-culottes; they therefore advised him to change, for the future, his revolutionary opinions, and become a mountaineer* and a republican, that he might owe his prosperity

* The Mountaineers of the National Convention were Robespierre, Marat, Danton, Barrere, Fouché, Carriere, and others, the *most blood-thirsty* of the regicides.

hereafter to his own patriotism, and not, as lately, to the patriotism of his army; to deserve victory as a jacobin, and not to swindle it as an aristocrat." To this fraternal admonition Pichegru replied, "that he did not believe either the Duke of York, the Prince of Cobourg, or the Duke of Brunswick, were sans-culottes, or their soldiers jacobins: that they had, however, been often victorious; and if the love of his country, and his wishes for the liberty and welfare of his countrymen, constituted true patriotism, he was the best patriot in France; as much above the fanatics of a club, as the factions in a national assembly*."—This anecdote evinces both the temper and qualities of the republican rulers of those times, and the respectable character of a republican general, who, when it was dangerous only to be suspected of virtuous principles, had fortitude enough to acknowledge virtue as his only guide.

General Pichegru received with his new command no instructions for his proceedings, but an imperative and ridiculous order "to conquer;" and in his conferences with the ministers at Paris, he was *vaguely* directed to attack the Allies in the

* *Recueil d'Anecdotes*, art. Pichegru, page 38.

the centre, and, in the mean time, to harass their flanks*.

Of his predecessors in this hazardous command, within ten months one had been outlawed†, and deserted; one killed on the field of battle‡, and two were guillotined§. The officers of this army were ignorant, undisciplined, without education, skill, or ardour; and the soldiers were worse than the officers; frequenters of clubs, denouncers and informers against their commanders, whom, from principles of equality, they hated, and from experience mistrusted; but how much depends upon the choice of a superior chief, must be evident, when, with such an army, we see that Pichegru in six months retook what had occupied the enemy, even assisted by treason, upwards of twelve months in conquering; and in three months more he added Holland to the other conquests of France.

During the years 1793 and 1794, the reign of terror, enforcing obedience to the conventional decrees, caused an activity, and produced resources, which are totally incompatible with a regard

* David's Memoirs on Pichegru's Campaigns.

† Dumourier.

‡ Dampierre.

§ Custine and Houchard.

regard for the lives and property of individuals in civilized nations. The existence of no individual was certain for an hour, and the possessions of all persons appertained to the nation at large. The Agrarian law was not proclaimed, but the absurd speculations of J. J. Rousseau were forced into practice; and it may truly be said, that in France "the earth belonged to nobody, but its productions to every body*."

The general who was not victorious was punished as a traitor; an army defeated, was an army suspected and proscribed; and many of those who had escaped the sword, the cannon, and the bayonets of the enemy, were doomed to suffer in republican bastiles, or perish by the revolutionary guillotine.

The decree for the levy *en masse* had already placed all the youths of the most populous nation in Europe at the disposal of a government which boasted of having one million two hundred thousand men in arms. The war with the maritime powers having interdicted the importation of gunpowder and military stores, these were now supplied by the talents of the chemists,

* J. J. Rousseau, in his discourse on the inequality of the conditions of mankind, addressed to the Academy at Dijon.

mists, and the industry of the artisans of France. Paris alone, from its three hundred forges, and fifteen founderies, furnished eleven thousand five hundred and twenty stand of arms, and one thousand one hundred pieces of brass cannon, *every month**. The insurgent cities were ordered to transmit a certain portion of saltpetre, by way of fine; the feudal castles of the murdered, exiled, or imprisoned nobility, still supposed to frown on the liberty, or rather anarchy, of the Republic, as well as the forest that had sheltered the brave and loyal men of La Vendee, also provided their quota of an ingredient so necessary in the modern art of war. Nor were the commercial signs of wealth, at all times indispensable for carrying on military operations, wanting. In addition to the almost inexhaustible fund arising from assignats, the credit of which was supported by the *maximum* and the *guillotine*, the virtuous piety of their ancestors presented them with other resources, which were at this period called into action; for the estates of the clergy, and the sacred treasures and vases of the Christian religion, were freely resorted to; and even the consecrated bells were

* *The Report of Barrere, Frimaire, an. xi.*

were melted, to furnish cannon for armies amounting to 780,000 fighting men*. That nothing might be wanting to give efficacy to these immense preparations, the archives of the war department were searched for the schemes and memorials presented to the Duke de Sully, to the Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarine, and other great ministers, and drawn up during the reigns of Henry IV. Louis XIII. and Louis XIV.; a chosen body, consisting of the ablest military men in France, formed plans for the campaign, and often laid down instructions for the generals, under the inspection of Carnot, a worthy member of the cruel Committee of Public Safety, who pretended to be one of the best engineers and ablest statesmen of the age, although he had never conducted a siege, commanded a battalion, or carried on or negotiated a single treaty; but in the different situations in which rebellion and crime had placed him, he profited by the information of those who groaned under his regicide tyranny, and arrogated to himself

* According to Carnot's statement, published by the National Convention in Nivose, an. xi. the Army of the North consisted of 220,000 men; the Armies of the Rhine and the Moselle, 280,000; the Army of the Alps, 60,000; of the Eastern Pyrenées, ,000; *the Army* of the South, 60,000; of the West, 80,000.

self the success of plans diametrically opposite to those of his own invention*.

This was the case with a plan for a campaign sent to Pichegru a short time after his arrival at the head-quarters of the Army of the North. According to Carnot's orders, the war committee at Paris, and the conventional deputies, insisted that Pichegru should attack the centre of the enemy in the forest of Mormale, although this

* In the Dictionnaire Biographique, a Work from an able hand, is (tome 3, page 173) the following note concerning Carnot:

On ne s'auroit trop faire remarquer l'impudeur avec laquelle ce Carnot, à qui quelques gens ont accordé une reputation militaire, on ne sait trop pourquoi, puisqu'il ne dirigea jamais un bataillon, et qu'il ne montra que des talens d'administrateur ou de curaliste, a voulu enlever à Jourdan la gloire de la bataille de Fleurus, et faire croire aussi *qu'il etoit l'auteur du projet d'invasion de la West Flandre, (voy. son Rapport du 1re Vendemiaire, An.* 3.) Il n'est pas etonnant que ce conspirateur, à vues aussi etroites que sanguinaires, et dont rien ne s'auroit egaler la vanité, ait cru pouvoir faire oublier *l'entetement avec lequel il soutint les plans sur la foret de Mormale*, puisqu'il imaginera bien pouvoir faire oublier aussi que *sa main*, qui osa tracer depuis les mots *de vertu et d'honneur, avoit signé tous ces arrets qui devasterent sa patrie. Ennemi personel de Pichegru*, dont il enviqit la gloire, ainsi que celle de tous les generaux, il a, dans ses *Exploits des François*, omis ou attribué à des officiers en sous ordre, les victoires de ce general avec mauvais foi tout-à-fait mal-adroite.

The Report of Bayeul to the Council of Five Hundred, concerning the conspiracy of the 18th Fructidor, an. v. confirms the above, and exhibits Carnot in his true colours.

this general represented both the danger and absurdity of so doing, which the several defeats already experienced by the French, on this point, seemed to confirm: thus, when, after repeated losses, at the risk of his life, Pichegru entirely changed this favourite plan of the infatuated Carnot into his own project of invading West Flanders, the regicide Carnot, in his Report to the National Convention, of the first Vendemiaire, year iii. had the impudence to take to himself all the honour of Pichegru's victories*.

Soon after Pichegru had assumed his new command, from the beginning of March, he formed a great number of encampments, to accustom the many recruits of his army to military movements. After a fortnight passed in this manner, he collected a great number of troops round Cambray and Guise, for the purpose of executing Carnot's orders, by driving the Allies from the forest of Mormale, and forming the siege of Quesnoy. He began on the 29th of the same month, by attacking the Austrian posts at Cateau, Beauvais, and Solesme, which he carried; but, although his attack was both well formed and

* See the last note.

and skilfully directed, the Imperialists, rallying, obliged him, after being repulsed on his whole line, to retreat, with the loss of six hundred men killed and wounded.

Notwithstanding almost daily engagements, the opening of one of the most famous and momentous campaigns, either among the ancients or moderns (and which placed Pichegru above Buonaparte and all other republican generals, as much for his talents as for his virtues), had not yet taken place; at length, on the 16th of April, the combined armies, consisting of Austrians, British, Dutch, Hanoverians, and Hessians, amounting to 187,000 men, assembled on the heights above Cateau, and were reviewed by the Emperor of Germany, who had lately assumed the command in person. In pursuance of the plan previously agreed upon, they advanced during the succeeding day in eight columns, three of which were intended as corps of observation. The first, composed of Austrian and Dutch troops, under the command of Prince Christian of Hesse Darmstadt, took possession of the village of Catillon, where they obtained four pieces of cannon, and, having crossed the Sambre, immediately occupied a position between that river and the little Helpe, so as to invest Landrecies

on that side. The second, led by Lieutenant-general Alvintzi, took post in the forest Nouvion. The third, headed by the Emperor and the Prince of Cobourg, after forcing the enemy's entrenchments, advanced to the heights called the Grand and Petit Blocus. The fourth and fifth columns were formed from the army under the Duke of York, that of which his Royal Highness took the direction being intended to attack the village of Vaux. Major-general Abercromby commenced the assault with the van, supported by the two grenadier companies of the first regiment of guards, under the command of Colonel Stanhope, and stormed and took the star redoubt, while three battalions of Austrian grenadiers, commanded by Major Petrasch, attacked the wood, and made themselves masters of the works which the French had constructed for its defence.

Sir William Erskine was equally successful with the other column; for, finding the enemy posted at Premont, the brigade of British infantry, with four squadrons of light dragoons, was detached under Lieutenant-general Harcourt to turn their position; while he himself attacked it in front with three battalions of the regiment of Kaunitz, supported by a well-directed fire of

British

British and Austrian artillery, under the orders of Lieutenant-colonel Congreve; and not only obtained possession of the redoubts, but of two pieces of cannon and a pair of colours.

The success of this extensive and complicated attack (in consequence of which the French under General Pichegru lost thirty pieces of artillery, nine of which were taken by the column under the immediate command of his Royal Highness the Duke of York) being now complete, it was immediately determined to lay siege to Landrecies. The direction of this important affair was entrusted to the Hereditary Prince of Orange; while His Imperial Majesty, with the grand army, estimated at 60,000 men, covered the operations on the side of Guise, and the troops under the Duke of York, amounting to near 30,000, were employed in a similar service toward Cambray. A body of Austrians and Hessians, to the number of 12,000, under General Wurmb, were at the same time stationed near Douay and Bouchain; Count Kaunitz with 15,000 defended the passage of the Sambre; and General Clairfayt, with 40,000 more, protected Flanders, from Tournay to the sea. Such were the strength and position of the Allies, even without the assistance of the Prussians (who

made no movement in their favour), that all generals of the old school imagined success to be inevitable: and appearances, for a time, seemed to confirm their conjectures; for on the 21st of the same month, the Hereditary Prince of Orange made a general attack upon, and carried, all the posts still occupied by the enemy in front of Landrecies: he also took their entrenched camp by storm, and obtained possession of a strong redoubt within six hundred yards of the body of the place.

To raise the siege of Landrecies, Pichegru ordered an attack on the advanced posts of the Prince of Cobourg, at Blocus and Nouvion; at the former the French were repulsed; but Nouvion was carried, and General Alvintzi obliged to retreat: some success on the part of General Wurmb, however, rendered this an event of small importance.

Apprehensive that he could not succeed in raising the siege of Landrecies, and yet not daring to infringe the orders of the Committee of Public Safety, to persevere in attacking the centre of the allies, Pichegru collected, in Cæsar's Camp, a force of thirty thousand men under Souham, and twenty thousand under Moreau, for the purpose of making a detached invasion of

West

West Flanders. General Otto being sent on the 23d to reconnoitre them, an engagement ensued, in which the French were driven into Cambray with loss; and the next day were repulsed with great slaughter, in an attack on the heights of Cateau, where the Duke of York was posted; on this occasion Lieutenant-general Chapuy, with three hundred and thirty officers and privates, were taken prisoners, and thirty-five pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the English. But these defeats were not of sufficient consequence to prevent Pichegru from persevering in his original enterprise.

While the subordinate generals were employed in this incursion, Pichegru, on the 26th, advanced in five columns, drove in all the outposts and piquets of the besieging army, attacking along the whole frontier, from Treves to the sea; but in the progress of this day he did not succeed; on the contrary, he was forced to retreat, and was pursued to the very gates of Cambray, with loss both of men and artillery.

Pichegru, however, returned to the charge on the 29th, assailing an almost impregnable post, defended by General Clairfayt at Moucron, and, by his success, retrieved the disaster of the former conflicts, besides animating his troops with

the confidence resulting from a first victory; and notwithstanding the defeat of a body of 30,000 men of his army, who had attacked the Duke of York at Tournay (on which occasion they lost thirteen pieces of cannon, and above four hundred men taken prisoners), he in a short time after obtained possession of Werwick, Courtray, and Menin, the last of which held out four days; when, finding no probability of succour, the garrison, consisting chiefly of emigrants, forced their way through the enemy with great bravery, but with great loss.

Landrecies had now surrendered; and Pichegru, convinced of the impracticability of Carnot's plan, recommended by the Committee of Public Safety, desisted from further attacks on the centre of the Allies. He would not even attempt the recovery of Landrecies; but, leaving small garrisons in the central fortresses, to prevent surprize, projected a combined movement with the army of the Ardennes, and, taking Beaumont, made some incursions between the Sambre and the Meuse.

The Army of the Allies, in consequence of the offensive operations of Pichegru, who, whether vanquished or victorious, proved incessant in his attacks, being thus broken into many separate

parate masses, and destitute of unity in its operations, was evidently liable to be overcome.

Numerous skirmishes took place during the early part of May; and on the 10th an attack was made on the Duke of York, near Tournay, in which the French were defeated, and three thousand killed. General Clairfayt, who, since his defeat at Moucron, had occupied a strong position, so as to cover Ghent, Bruges, and Ostend, at the same time attempted to drive the French from Courtray; but are inforcement was judiciously thrown into the town by Pichegru; and in an engagement which took place the ensuing day, General Clairfayt was driven back into his original position at Thielt. This last action did the greatest honour to the gallant, but unlucky Austrian general, and Pichegru decided the fate of the day solely by the celerity and unity of his attacks.

During this conflict, while Pichegru was pursuing his victorious career in the West, General Jourdan, already celebrated for his victories at Hoondschoote and Maubeuge, had the command of the Army of the Ardennes; and with this army, and the right wing of the Army of the North, he crossed the Sambre, forced General Kaunitz to retreat, and took possession of Fon-

taine l'Eveque, and Binch; which, however, he was obliged to relinquish, on the appearance of an Austrian force, with the loss of near 5000 men and three pieces of cannon.

The Armies of the North and Ardennes, again partially united, were at this time under the tyranny of the constitutional deputies St. Just and Le Bas, who stimulated the troops to exertion by perpetual threats of execution in case of failure; threats which, from them, could never be considered idle or nugatory; because, as they often repeated, "*the permanency of the guillotine was the order of the day.*" After the last defeat of Jourdan, Pichegru went to assist him to re-organize the Army of the Ardennes, and to instruct him how to act with more method even in accelerating his operations. He, however, not only found this army terrified by the cruelties of the two pro-consuls; but, when he had formed plans for passing the Sambre, and besieging Charleroi, they were frustrated by the precipitation, violence, and ignorance of those men, who controlled him, and superseded his authority.

To expel the French from Flanders became a principal object of the Allies; and Pichegru, in his turn, did every thing in his power both to *maintain* and extend his conquest in this province.

vince. To allure General Clairfayt from his advantageous position near Thielt, Pichegru ordered General Moreau to hem in and blockade Ypres in the beginning of June. In his attack to relieve this city, General Clairfayt met with nothing but defeats, particularly on the 13th of June, near Hooglède, which caused the fall of Ypres, and by it chiefly decided the fate of West Flanders. The Allies were, however, determined to make another attempt; for this purpose, after many skirmishes, in which Lannoy, Turcoing, Roubaix, Mouveaux, and all the great posts in the road from Lille to Courtray, were taken by the Duke of York on the 16th; and the next day, a general attack was made under the eye of the Emperor himself; but it was rendered unsuccessful by the delay of two columns, which ought to have forced the passage of La Marque, but whose tardiness, from fatigue, left open the communication between Lille and Courtray, and deranged the whole plan of operations; though, in detached points, the Allies gained some advantages. In several reports and narratives of the French, His Royal Highness the Duke of York is much praised for his vigorous attacks and able manœuvres on that day, when, *leading* on seven battalions of British

five of Austrians, and two of Hessians, with six squadrons of light dragoons and four of hussars, he forced the French, after the stoutest resistance, to evacuate Lannoy and Roubaix, and afterwards advanced against Mouveaux*. General Abercromby attacked at the same time, with four battalions of Guards, seconded by the seventh and fifteenth light dragoons, under Lieutenant-colonel Churchill; and the enemy was compelled to retire, with the loss of three pieces of cannon.

Early in the ensuing morning, the republicans, under Pichegru, attacked, in great force, the post at Turcoing. Two battalions of Austrians, detached by the Duke of York to make a diversion, failed in returning to him, and thus left an opening on his right. The French, pouring in torrents of troops on every side, had completely surrounded the British battalions; but these, with the greatest bravery, although with much difficulty and loss, cut their way through, and made an honourable retreat. *General Pichegru had received positive orders* from the Committee of Public Safety, to direct the chief attack against the British troops; the Royal British Com-

* Coup-d'œil sur la Campagne de Flandres, au l'an. ii. par un *Republicain, page 9.*

Commander was therefore assailed on all sides by such a superior number of republicans, that his troops were forced to give way, and he found it impossible either to join the Brigade of the Guards, or that commanded by Major-general Fox; but "*by the greatest intrepidity and presence of mind*," he was at length enabled to escape to a body of Austrians, commanded by General Otto, accompanied only by a few dragoons of the sixteenth regiment; while Major-general Abercromby, with some difficulty, made good his retreat to Templeuve, and Major-general Fox fortunately succeeded in gaining the village of Leers*.

During this battle, which lasted the whole day, Pichegru ordered Moreau, although with inferior forces, to occupy General Clairfayt, which, by his able manœuvres, he effected. According to the French account, they took this day fifteen hundred prisoners, and sixty pieces of cannon; but it is on the other hand asserted, that they left on the field four thousand slain, while the Allies lost only three thousand.

In their estimates of the successes of this day, the opposing armies widely differed: the Duke

* See Coup-d'œil sur la Campagne de Flandres, page 12. *Praise from an enemy is justice*, but no flattery.

of York, in his public orders, declared that he had little to regret, except the loss of so many brave men. Pichegru, believing the Allies to be destitute of artillery, made on the 22d a general assault on their lines with a hundred thousand men, intending to force the passage of the Scheldt, and invest Tournay. The assault began at five o'clock in the morning, and the French, continually bringing up fresh troops, continued it the whole day: about three o'clock in the afternoon the right wing of the Allies, being greatly fatigued, began to give ground; when the Duke of York detached seven Austrian battalions, and the second brigade of British infantry, under Major-general Fox, to their support. The spirit and perseverance of the English soldiers decided the fate of the day; they stormed the village of Pont-achin, rushed with fixed bayonets into the heart of the French army, and threw them into such confusion, that they could never be rallied, notwithstanding all Pichegru's endeavours, who continued for fourteen hours in the midst of the fire, leading on or rallying his troops. This general had, during the battle, three horses killed under him, and two aides-de-camp shot by his side.

The Allies lay on their arms that night, expecting

pecting a renewed attack in the morning; but the French retreated to Lille, Pichegru having made the most judicious arrangements to prevent his army from being turned or assailed by the numerous Austrian cavalry. Such a battle has seldom been fought: the republicans were in action, under an incessant fire of cannon and musketry, upwards of twelve hours; besides a retreat of four hours, constantly within the reach of cannon shot: twelve thousand of their men were left dead on the field, and five hundred taken prisoners. The loss of the Allies was estimated at four thousand.

The spirited conduct of the British troops, though but a very small number, on all these occasions, rendered them at once the admiration of the Allies and the terror of the French. Their heroic valour, however, which ought to have gained them respect, only kindled the fury of the republican government; and the infamous Convention was base enough to concur in a proposition made by the ferocious Committee of Public Safety, decreeing, on the 26th of May, *that in future no quarter should be given to British or Hanoverian troops.* This savage edict was recommended to the army by an address

the production of Barrere, one of Buonaparte's favourites and counsellors; in which, after falsely accusing the British government of all the crimes perpetrated by French rebels, or regicides, against their own country and countrymen, he declared, "that not one of the slaves of George ought to return to the traitorous territory of England*."

When Pichegru received this abominable decree, and the no less abominable address, he convoked all the generals of his army about him, and in the presence of his staff told them, "*that he believed them all to be brave men, and therefore no assassins; but if he was mistaken in his opinion, he would that instant throw up his command, though he knew that certain death would be the consequence,*" but they unanimously agreed with their chief, and promised to instil the same sentiments into the troops of their respective corps; adding, that if the conventional deputies accompanying the army insisted upon the enforcement of this law of blood, they would to a man resign. As Robespierre had spies every where, it was not

* This decree was of the 26th May, and the address of the 29th May, 1794. As monuments of French republican ferocity, they *are never* to be forgotten.

not long before he obtained information of what he called the aristocratical and mutinous conduct of Pichegru and his officers; and Pichegru's, Moreau's, and 592 other names of military characters in the Army of the North, were, after Robespierre's death, found upon his list for the guillotine, as a job (corvée) in mass after the campaign should be over. It requires more real courage to brave the scaffold than the mouths of cannons*.

It is necessary to observe, however, that *one* republican general was cruel and cowardly enough to execute this mandate of the regicides. When, in July 1794, some Hanoverians were made prisoners in maritime Flanders, General Van Damme, to stimulate his troops by his example, put one to death with his own hands, as he had a few months before done to some unfortunate emigrants at Furness†. This General Van Damme is now among Buonaparte's first friends and favourites, and his governor at Lille, in Flanders, after being, in 1794, imprisoned by the order of General Pichegru for his crimes in the Low Countries, and in 1800 degraded by

* Le Coup-d'œil de la Campagne de Flandres, page 16.

† See the last-mentioned pamphlet, page 17; and the History of *the Campaign of General* Pichegru, by David, page 56.

General Moreau for his plunder and vexations in Suabia*.

The conduct of the Duke of York upon this occasion was at once dignified and humane, becoming the son of a king, and a commander in the cause of honour, virtue, and loyalty. Instead of issuing orders for immediate retaliation, and thus producing all the horrors of mutual assassination, His Royal Highness, in an address to his army, dated June 7, 1794, nobly requested the troops to suspend their indignation, and reminded them, "that mercy to the vanquished is the brightest gem in a soldier's character:" while the republican rulers were the butchers of their fellow-citizens, the English Prince acted as a generous soldier, whose profession was disgraced by such an attempt to abolish the laws of war and humanity; and as a guardian of the subjects of his august father, who were thus invidiously singled out as people to whom alone the ordinary regulations of civilized states ought not to be extended.

In

* In August 1800, General Moreau degraded Van Damme as an accomplice of the Commissary General Pommier, condemned to be shot by the sentence of a court-martial, for plunder and extortion in Suabia. Van Damme continued during the whole campaign *in the rear of the army.*

In the mean time the French army, pressed by the republican tyrants St. Just and Le Bas, had on the 20th of May repassed the Sambre, recaptured Fontaine l'Eveque, and Binch, and partially invested Charleroi; but they were again routed by General Count Kaunitz, with the loss of five thousand men killed, wounded and prisoners, and fifty pieces of cannon. The loss was, however, compensated on the other side, where a portion of the Army of the Moselle was placed under Jourdan, and received the name of the Army of the Sambre and the Meuse. This force, consisting of forty thousand men, invaded the duchy of Luxemburg, took possession of Arlon, and obliged General Beaulieu to fall back on Marche, in order to cover Namur. The Duke of York's position at Tournay was thus rendered, for several days, very precarious, as a great portion of the allied army was obliged to fall back to cover Brussels and Ghent, and the Prince of Cobourg marched the principal part of his army to their relief.

St. Just and Le Bas, ignorant of tactics, and cruel, like most upstarts in power, were, contrary to the representations of Pichegru, still persevering to sacrifice the lives of the soldiers for the attainment of a proposed point, and again

compelled the troops to cross the Sambre on the 3d of June, and commence the blockade of Charleroi; but being attacked by the combined army under the Hereditary Prince of Orange, and by a judicious sally of the garrison, they were compelled once more to fall back to their former position, after a great loss both of men and artillery.

Notwithstanding their reiterated miscarriages in that quarter, the enemy soon after re-crossed the Sambre, and assumed a position near Gosselies, for the purpose of covering the siege of Charleroi, before which they had already begun to open trenches; but the same general who had defeated them a few days before, arrived again, and obliged them, on the 6th of June, to retreat with the loss of near six thousand men, twenty-two pieces of cannon, thirty-five ammunition waggons, a considerable number of horses, and a great quantity of baggage. But General Jourdan, having received numerous reinforcements from the Army of the Moselle, crossed the Sambre a fourth time, stormed the Austrian camp at Betignies, and prepared again to besiege a city which had so long repelled his attacks.

The right wing of the Army of the North, so often, by the infatuation of St. Just and Le Bas, defeated

defeated before Charleroi, had now joined the Army of the Sambre and the Meuse; and Pichegru, who commanded them, confident in superior forces, determined at all events to succeed. The Prince of Cobourg on this occasion abandoned Tournay, leaving the defence of the Scheldt to the Duke of York, and withdrawing all his posts before Valenciennes, Quesnoy, and the other French towns in his possession, to fulfil the more important task of succouring West Flanders. For this purpose he spent two days in preparation, and then made, on the 27th of June, a general attack on the advanced post of Jourdan's army. Charleroi had the preceding day been forced to surrender at discretion. The Prince of Cobourg, assisted by the Prince of Orange and General Beaulieu, not being acquainted with this event, after the attack on the advanced post, marched with the combined army, divided into five columns, and made preparations to relieve the place. Having attacked the enemy's entrenchments, in the direction of Lambrisart, Espinies, and Gosselies, he obliged a few detached bodies to retreat, though protected by several very strong redoubts; but such was the opposition experienced on this occasion by the Allies, that it was evening before the left

wing

wing had arrived at the principal heights, which were fortified by an extensive range of field-works, lined with an immense quantity of heavy artillery. Although a variety of unforeseen obstacles had hitherto interposed, an attempt was now made to force this strong position with the bayonet; while Jourdan, on the other hand, having obtained the assistance of the besieging army in consequence of the fall of Charleroi, determined, *according to the advice and plan of Pichegru**, to decide the fate of Flanders in a pitched battle. He accordingly advanced with a numerous army, and made such a disposition, as to enable the greater part of his forces to contend with the left wing of the Allies only. Nevertheless, such was the impetuous valour of the assailants against four times superior forces, strengthened and protected by the nature of their position, and by every thing which the modern art of war could invent, that they repeatedly penetrated the French lines, and formed several times under the fire of their cannon; but towards seven o'clock in the evening, the advantage obtained by Jourdan became conspicuous; for, having drawn his troops out of their entrench-

* See Le Coup-d'œil, page 24.

trenchments, and made three distinct charges upon the enemy, after an action which commenced at dawn of day, and did not entirely conclude until near sun-set, victory, which had been hovering by turns over each of the rival armies, declared finally in favour of the republicans. The combined troops, taking advantage of the night, immediately fell back, first on Marbois, and next on Nivelle, with an intent, if possible, to cover Namur.

Thus ended the battle of Fleurus, which obliged the Allies to forego all hopes of retaining possession of Flanders; as their force, which consisted originally of a hundred and eighty thousand men, was reduced to seventy thousand; while that of the republicans was increased to more than three hundred thousand. Neither the loss of the combined powers during this battle, nor that of the French, has been precisely ascertained. The effects, however, were prodigious; for the Allies now retreated in all quarters; and Bruges, Tournay, Mons, Oudenarde, Brussels, and even Namur, were left without protection.

That the French, however, during the first three months of this severe campaign, had lost more men even than the combined powers, or,

rather

rather sacrificed a greater number of their countrymen to the absurd and cruel obstinacy of the national deputies, may be concluded from a French author, who states, "that the officers and soldiers killed and wounded in one point, in the attempts to pass the Sambre, and to blockade or besiege Charleroi, amounted, according to the French army estimates and registers, to 44,604; of whom, the same author says, 30,000 at least might have been spared, if St. Just and Le Bas had not acted contrary to the proposals and plans of General Pichegru*."

About the same period, or on the 26th of June, that virtuous patriot and able general, the Earl of Moira, arriving at Ostend, with seven thousand men, found Ypres and Thorout, on one side, and Bruges on the other, in possession of the French; and, despairing of rendering effectual assistance in any other quarter, on the 28th he pressed forward to join the Duke of York, who, with the body of the English and Allies under his command, had participated, of course, in the disasters of the campaign; taking his route through Bruges, which at his approach the French evacuated, to Malle. General Van Damme was

* See the last-mentioned pamphlet, page 26.

was in the neighbourhood with twenty thousand men, and would have fallen upon the English force, but for the skilful marches and evolutions of the Earl of Moira, and the ingenious deception of that highly-valuable officer Major-general Doyle, the British Quarter-master-general, who made the burgomaster of Bruges believe that the English army consisted of fifteen thousand men, and that as many more would arrive the same evening; intelligence of which was conveyed to the French general, and prevented his attacking the English troops*.

It was on this occasion that General Pichegru, who had sent Van Damme purposely to intercept and capture the Earl of Moira's army (the small number of which was known to him before it left Ostend), wrote to Van Damme's protectors, the conventional deputies, and accused him of incapacity, concluding with saying, that he was as ignorant as barbarous. This letter had been expedited to Robespierre, and was found among his papers, marked, "*to be forwarded in time to the public accuser at the revolutionary tribunal, as a proof of Pichegru's aristocracy.*" This admirable patriot of the modern republican

* Coup-d'œil, page 40.

lican school, Van Damme, had, before the Revolution, been condemned to the gallows, and had afterwards both murdered and plundered *en masse*. To charge such a *worthy* citizen of the French commonwealth with *incapacity and barbarity*, was an unpardonable crime with his accomplices, the terrorists and jacobins, and, by their code of laws and revolutionary justice, deserved nothing less than the guillotine*.

After several marches and counter-marches between the 1st. and 8th of July, the Earl of Moira at last, having overcome numerous difficulties, by means of a rapid movement, completed the object of the expedition, and effected his junction with His Royal Highness the Duke of York. During his Lordship's fatiguing marches, the French took possession of Ostend, and marched towards Ghent; the Prince of Cobourg was again, after a noble resistance, defeated by a vastly superior enemy at Mons and Soignes; the French gained possession of Mons; the Duke of York, always pursued by Pichegru, was obliged to retreat from Revaix to Grammont, and subsequently to Asche, Malines, and Kontieq, while the

* Coup-d'œil, page 42, and Courtois' Report to the National Convention, page 6.

the French rendered themselves masters of Ghent, Oudenarde, and Tournay. The French Army of the Sambre and the Meuse under Jourdan, being joined by that of the North under Pichegru, they both pressed their advantages on every side; and after a series of engagements and skirmishes, possessed themselves of Brussels on the 9th of July, where the conventional deputies, the representatives of the Great Nation, sat in dreadful state, issuing orders of blood and plunder.

The republican armies halted in positions appointed by Pichegru, and reached from Liege to Antwerp; while the Austrians defended the banks of the Meuse from Ruremonde to Maestricht: the troops of England and Holland, having retired beyond Breda, were encamped at Osterwist, and a corps was posted at Ludhoven, to keep open the communication between the armies. Malines, Louvaine, Judoigne, Namur, Antwerp, Tongers, Liege, St. Amand, Marchienner, Cateau, and other places, had already been evacuated; and Condè, Valenciennes, Quesnoy, and Landrecies, abandoned to their own strength, were invested by the republicans, who were fortified by the additional terror of a savage decree of the regicide convention, forbid-

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ding them to give quarter to any of the garrisons, unless they surrendered on the first summons.

During the last four months, while Pichegru, in gathering so many laurels for himself, had done such great and effectual services to his country, he had not only to contend with the ignorance, cupidity, and jealousy of the deputies accompanying his army; but with the envy, malevolence, and cruelty of Carnot, Robespierre, and the other members of the Committee of Public Safety.—After his victory of the 18th of May, at Turcoing, he intended, by a bold but wise combination, to pass the Scheldt near Oudenarde, and to cut off General Clairfayt from all communication with the English army, to fight the Austrians singly, and afterwards to fall upon the rear of the troops opposing Jourdan; but the Committee of Public Safety sent him other orders for his operations, which, absurd as they were, he was obliged to obey; and thousands of lives were sacrificed, which might have been spared, and the same end obtained.

Although Pichegru had only influence and command in the combined and general plans of the motions and transactions of the Army of the Sambre and the Meuse, he was nevertheless regarded

garded as the commander in chief over all the republican troops and armies on this frontier. His powers, his successes, his talents, and his glory, alike offended the republican pro-consuls; and they were mean enough to let him often perceive it, particularly at Brussels, where they did every thing to counteract or change all his projects, and to impede his future progress. With that virtuous severity which characterizes him, Pichegru contented himself with telling them, *that he observed aristocracy had only changed hands in France; but that the aristocracy of revolutionary upstarts, or political hypocrites, was more dangerous and disgraceful than that of kings or patricians.* In revenge for this just and pointed remark, the regicides, to lessen the extent of his authority, forced him to separate the Armies of the North, and of the Sambre and the Meuse, which but lately, and with so much pains, had formed a junction.

Though Pichegru was disgusted with the behaviour and principles of these deputies, and of the members of the Committee of Public Safety, his constant and only study and labour were to serve his country, and to silence or calm the vile passions of its vile tyrants by new victo-

ries.

ries. He therefore, after the capture of Antwerp, formed a plan, which, by cutting off all connexion between the English and Austrian armies, would have brought him nearer to the last, and ensured the successes of the Army of the Sambre and the Meuse, as well as favoured the movements of the republican troops on the Rhine; but the jealousy of his superiors, and of General Jourdan, prevented the execution of this well-contrived plan.

From these scenes of carnage, in which the horrors of death are diminished by the "pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war," our attention is called to contemplate transactions no less sanguinary, though infinitely more dreadful, exhibited in that internal government of France, which had appointed Pichegru to the command, and continually held the axe of the guillotine suspended over his head. Terror, avowed as a system, stalked through the land, dealing on every side the blow of fate, and extinguishing love, mutual confidence, honour and pity. The various devices for proving treason, or treasonable inclinations, gave vigour to a host of spies, informers, and persecutors, some of whom were in the pay of government; some hoped to conci-

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liate favour*; and others thought, by denouncing their nearest relatives or most intimate friends, to avoid those persecutions, of which the next moment might make themselves the victims. No man could consider himself sure of an hour's life, yet no man was permitted to prepare himself for death; and he who dared to express or inculcate a hope of a better existence beyond the grave, incurred imminent danger of being sacrificed as an incorrigible fanatic.

As no motive of safety, nor any prospect of advantage, stimulated the conventional rulers of France to so profuse a waste of human life, it could be nothing but their own blood-thirsty characters, and their total disregard for all moral and

* Miot, one of the jacobin ministers in Tuscany during the first six months of the French Republic, was suspected of having received bribes, without sharing them with his *worthy* employers, and therefore was sent a prisoner to the Luxemburg at Paris; where, to obtain favour, he became an informer against his fellow-prisoners, and a spy of Chaumette, Robespierre, Barrere, and Fouquier Tinville; and, according to the author of "*Memoires sur les Prisons de Paris, en an.* ii. *et* iii. page 44," Miot's denunciations *brought 226 innocent persons to the scaffold.* He was in disgrace under the Directory; but in 1799 *Buonaparte made him one of his tribunes; and he is still a confidential friend of his Consular Majesty, who has promised him an embassy.*—Les Nouvelles à la Main, Brumaire ix. No. 11.

and religious principles, that produced so many horrors and such monstrous deeds; but with the usual revolutionary cant of republican tyrants, while daily inundating the scaffold with the blood of hundreds of their victims, and proscribing by a single decree 250,000 families *, they spoke of their humanity, generosity, and justice, as often as of their liberty, equality, and fraternity.

On the 31st of January, 1794, Robespierre made a report to the National Convention, on the nature and operations of the revolutionary government; in which he contrived, with singular art and sagacity, to impress general notions of *virtue*, *mildness*, and *benevolence*; while, by decrying

* On the 17th of September, 1793, Merlin de Douai caused the Convention to decree, "that all persons of the former privileged orders, and their relations, should be arrested *as suspected;* and within four weeks 250,000 families were imprisoned in all parts of France, with intent to expose them to the same massacres as the prisoners at Paris had experienced on the 2d of September, 1792. Merlin was then, and is yet, called *Merlin-suspects—Merlin-potence.* He is the same person who was made one of the directors after the revolution of the 4th of September, 1797, and is at present Buonaparte's favourite, and attorney-general to his tribunal of revision He was before the Revolution a pettifogging attorney, without character or property; but during the Revolution he has bought ten millions of national estates.—See *Dictionnaire Biographique*, pag. 18 *et* 19; and *Prudhomme*, art. Merlin.

decrying the two extremes of coldness and ultra-revolutionary vigour, he subjected every man to a rigorous inquisition, which might declare him the enemy of the Republic; and to persons of that description the revolutionary government owed *no protection but death**.

Such were the avowed principles of the republican government, or, what is the same, of the National Convention, which had usurped all powers; and each of its members, while he belonged to the victorious faction, was a privileged and protected despot. That all parts of France, and every class of Frenchmen, might groan under the same oppression, feel the same cruelties, and witness the same immorality†, conventional deputies were sent as pro-consuls, with unlimited authority, to all the departments, as well as to the different armies.

St. Just, who in 1792 was a student at law, and

* See Prudhomme, vol. v. page 326.

† The deputy Subrany was *the representative of the people* at Pau; where, *to approach the state of nature*, he stripped himself one night, and forced all public functionaries, with their wives and daughters, to accompany him to the play-house *naked*; where he with his party not only continued in that indecent state during the play, but from his box he declared all persons who did not follow his example, enemies to equality.—*Les Annales du Terrorisme*, page 70.

and the attorney Le Bas, were, as has been mentioned, the two conventional commissaries who had accompanied and inspected the operations of the army under Pichegru; who unnecessarily had caused the butchery of so many thousand innocent persons, and who had denounced him to Robespierre as an aristocrat, because he opposed their sanguinary measures, and did not dishonour his victories by inhumanity. These, and other representatives of the French people with the armies, were followed in their missions by a horde of commissaries, clerks, and secretaries, their relations and friends, whose principal occupation was to enrich themselves at the expence of their countrymen when in France; and by plunders, requisitions, and extortions, when in an enemy's country. The pillage to which they addicted themselves was unrestrained by principle or shame; and while the representatives robbed in mass, their followers, by their *republican* activity, let nothing escape their cupidity; and the victories of Pichegru ruined Belgium for a long time, because he had no authority to control the civil administration of his army*. According to David's history of Pichegru's

* Ineptie, ou la Cupidité des administrations des vivres, firent naitre

gru's campaign, "*lace, and articles of a like nature*, were put in requisition at Brussels and in Brabant, under pretence of providing *for the wants of the troops* *; and in an act of accusation against Joubert, one of the principal commissaries of the Army of the North, signed by five thousand Belgians, he is accused of having put in requisition *plate, jewels, and diamonds for the use of the army hospitals* †.

A short

naitre tant de difficultés, qu'il s'eleva des discussions assez vives. Toutes vouloient s'approvisionner a Bruxelles; mais pour mieux dire, *toutes se jalousoient, et chacun vouloit avoir le paturage le plus gras pour s'engraisser plus promptement.*

Pichegru vit de sang-froid, et *le petitesse des pro-consuls* et *les disputes vetilleuses* des administrations. Pour tout concilier, il accorda tout ce qu'on demanda pour l'Armée du Sambre et Meuse; mais il ne put convenir de rien sur les mouvemens des troupes, parceque, quoique general en chef de ces deux armées, *les pouvoirs illimités*, eurent l'ambition de faire agir l'Armée du Sambre et Meuse suivant leurs idées.—*David's Campagnes du General Pichegru*, page 60 et 61.

* See the last-mentioned work, page 46, English translation.

† See Les Denunciations des Belges, printed at Paris in the year 4, and presented to the Council of Five Hundred in April 1797. These particulars are mentioned, page 6 and page 9. They say that the inhabitants of Belgium "*have paid more to France, in forced loans, contributions, extortions, and plunder, in twenty months, than to their former sovereigns in the two preceding centuries.*" In the Dictionnaire Biographique, page 231, tom. ii. it is said, "Ce fut sur-tout sous le commissariat de Joubert, *ont ecrit eux memes les Belges*, qu'il n'y eut plus de bornes *pour les vols* et *les*

A short time after Pichegru had made his entrance into Brussels, St. Just and Le Bas had perished with Robespierre, and some of his and their accomplices; but neither Pichegru, nor the inhabitants of those countries which his army had conquered, gained any thing by this revolution, because the republican tyranny only changed hands, and other deputies as greedy and cruel as St. Just and Le Bas took their places, and continued their exactions, insulting Pichegru's abilities by their ignorance, and his patriotism by their crimes.

From these brief remarks, it will be easily seen what goodness of heart, what firmness of character, and what patience it required in Pichegru (who could not but be conscious of his own worth) not to throw up his command, and refuse to serve any longer his ungrateful country and its barbarous and corrupted governors. He was then the only republican general in whose talents, not only the government and the army, but the whole nation placed their confidence

exactions; il les sanctionnoit tous par son exemple. Cet effronté concussionaire acheva d'opprimer le peuple. Ecrasés de tous cotés par ces insolens vampires, nous n'eumes bientot plus la liberté de nous pouvoir devant les administrateurs. Joubert les cassa et substitua *d'autres, tous complices de ses brigandes*, &c. &c.

dence and hope; and it is very probable that his resignation under the then existing circumstances would have disbanded the armies lately organized by him, entirely changed the face of affairs, and Brabant and Holland might yet have been free.

On the other hand, had Pichegru possessed the unprincipled ambition of a Buonaparte, he might, with the applause not only of France but of Europe, have assumed a temporary sovereignty over the French commonwealth; because at this very time the abominable ferocity of the republican rulers had extended its terror to all nations; and any meritorious and moderate man would have been hailed and respected as the saviour of the liberty and civilization of the world. Pichegru's patriotism and modesty on this occasion have caused as many sufferings to mankind since, as the virtue, and ill-applied and ill-placed humanity of Louis XVI. had produced some years before *.

In

* That true patriot, the loyal, able, and distinguished writer, Mr. Bowles, makes, on the misapplication of this humane principle by the virtuous and unfortunate Louis XVI. some remarks, as acute as judicious, as liberal as just, and they ought to be printed and reprinted in all works wherein the horrors of rebellion are exposed, obedience inculcated in subjects, vigilance and firmness insinuated to sovereigns and their ministers.—" La mort d'un

In the mean time the armies, but little influenced by the convulsions that had taken place in the

gouvernement est toujours un suicide." All friends, favourites, counsellors, or ministers of lawful princes, should adopt this phrase of Voltaire as their motto.

In his "Thoughts on the late General Election," page 73, Mr. Bowles says: "Strange as it may seem, mischiefs which involve the ruin of states, and the destruction of social order, may originate in honourable and amiable feelings; which produce the most disastrous effects, because they are not under the guidance of judgment, because they are not accompanied with comprehensive views of the nature of society. The preservation of order and security imposes an indispensable duty on all who exercise authority, to resist, as dangerous weaknesses, those compassionate feelings which, if indulged, would screen offenders from punishment, encourage the commission of crimes by the prospect of impunity, or suffer resistance to ripen into rebellion by neglecting to repress the first beginnings of turbulence and commotion. While they remember, that it is their bounden duty to temper justice with mercy, they should not forget, that ill-judged lenity to the guilty is cruelty to the innocent. The ambition of Louis XIV. the bigotry of Charles IX. and the tyranny of Louis XI. were not a thousandth part so severe a scourge to France as the misplaced lenity and amiable weakness of Louis XVI. No usurper, of ancient or modern times, ever waded through such seas of blood to a throne as have deluged that unfortunate country, in consequence of the apparently humane resolution of the last-mentioned Prince, that *no blood should be shed in his cause*. There cannot, indeed, be a greater and a more mischievous error, than this unfortunate Prince fell into, in supposing, that when the authority of a Sovereign is assailed, it is his cause exclusively, or even principally, which is at issue. The authority which he has received from that Power by which

the capital, were put in motion, and resumed the operations of the campaign. Accordingly, while Pichegru prepared, with one body of troops, to attack Holland, another assembled in the neighbourhood of Brussels, under Jourdan, and proceeded in pursuit of Clairfayt, who had succeeded the Prince of Cobourg as commander in chief, and was the only general of the combined powers who now kept the field; for the Duke of York by this time, before vastly superior forces, had withdrawn into Dutch Brabant, after a long, ineffectual, but glorious struggle; and the Hereditary Prince of Orange was obliged to

which "Kings reign, and Princes decree justice," is bestowed not for his own sake, but that of his people. It is a sacred trust reposed in him for the benefit and security of his subjects. He is the guardian of the persons and property of those who are placed under his care. The laws are weapons put into his hands for their defence. And if to indulge the generous emotions of his heart, if to escape those pangs which every human mind cannot but feel in inflicting punishment upon criminals, he suffers those laws to lose their effects, and to be no longer "a terror to evil doers"—if he "bear the sword in vain," he will be responsible to the great King of Kings, whose minister he is, for all the sufferings which his ill-judged and destructive humanity may bring upon the people committed to his charge—and, indeed, for every outrage upon the person or property of any of them, which this sacrifice of justice to mercy may invite; nay, for the very guilt of offenders, who may be drawn into the commission of crimes by those hopes of impunity which a reliance on his lenity shall have encouraged them to form.

to cross the Dyle, to prevent his small army from being surrounded.

Pichegru wished to advance, and undertake the siege of Breda, and the troops desired it as well as himself; but the Army of the Sambre and the Meuse had not yet been able to drive the Austrians to the other side of the river Meuse; consequently, if he had marched to besiege this city, his right wing would have been uncovered. Besides, the administrators of provisions, &c. for the Army of the North, had acted with so little intelligence and unanimity, that the incertitude of subsistence for the troops gave more uneasiness to General Pichegru's mind, and perplexed him more, than the direction over the movements of the army. This part of the administration was conducted with so much negligence and ignorance, that ever since Pichegru's departure from Ghent, he continued to get bread from Lille, which was often wanted, and oftener arrived half rotten and not eatable. He wanted forage, and means to transport and convey it; and when he complained to the members of the administration, they answered, "*that they were independent of all military authority;*" and if he addressed himself to the representatives of the people, they said, "*his conquests were too ra-*

pid:

pid: they therefore wanted more time, to provide with order and regularity *; that is to say, they had not time enough to pillage and exhaust the resources of one country, before his victorious army was marching into another.

So circumstanced, it was too hazardous for Pichegru yet to penetrate into the vast heaths of Dutch Brabant, and these considerations determined him to let his army encamp for eighteen days in its position near Antwerp: after much trouble, Pichegru at last succeeded, during this interval, in getting magazines established at Ghent, Malines, and ntwerp. This measure diminished some of the obstacles, but it did not cause them entirely to cease; for these magazines were so ill supplied, that in case his army had met with a defeat, it would immediately have been reduced to penury, and a want of the first necessaries for its subsistence. The commissaries had not even waggons enough to transport the bread for the troops; and the horses destined to this use were so ill fed and badly taken care of, that during each convoy thirty or forty perished on the road †.

Not-

* Le Coup-d'œil, page 33.

† Les Campagnes de Pichegru, page 72 et 73.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties, Pichegru was determined to try the conquest of Holland, and to realize what Louis XIV. had attempted in vain. Alarm and consternation now spread among all those Dutchmen who really felt a patriotic zeal to rescue their country from the horrors of French domination. The Stadtholder had already appealed to the United States in an energetic address; disclosing the just apprehensions which he entertained; invoking them to imitate the strenuous valour of their ancestors in resisting the Spaniards; shewing the miserable consequences which must result from permitting themselves to be deluded by the arts of deceit, seduction, and corruption, which could alone render their situation desperate, and give the desired advantages to the enemy; and exhorting all classes to co-operate in securing to themselves liberty, independence, and permanent happiness. Unfortunately for Holland, and Europe, this, and other patriotic appeals of the worthy chief magistrate of the Batavians, had little effect, and the people, in an evil hour, continued to shew a general disposition to court the fraternity of France; a fraternity which offered gratification to many base and malignant passions, and for which the people had been assi-

duously

duously prepared by French emissaries and agents.

After a suspension of operations for nearly two months, during which interval the four frontier garrisons had been subdued, Pichegru re-assumed the offensive: the Army of the North quitted the environs of Antwerp on the 20th of August, marched that day to Westmale, and the next day as far as Mol; but such was the bad administration of the commissariat, that he could not for some days advance farther, for want of bread for his army.

Besides this obstacle, Jourdan informed General Pichegru, that the passage of the river Oust with the Army of the Sambre and the Meuse offered *invincible* difficulties. This march on the Lower Meuse became therefore of no utility, and the project was given up.

Pichegru then intended to approach nearer to the English army, and, without removing too far from Antwerp, to defeat it on the first occasion, knowing it to be greatly reduced by recent losses.

The Duke of York, after having been compelled to retreat before the superior strength of the French, marched to the plains of Breda, establishing his head-quarters at Oosterhout on *the 4th of August*, and taking so strong a posi-

tion, that he felt secure from an assault till the Dutch should have had time to put the garrison in a state of defence: he erected redoubts in the front of his camp, and had the satisfaction to see the town put in a formidable condition, and a large tract of the surrounding country inundated.

On the 24th of August, Pichegru took his position near Turnhout; and on the 28th, in the neighbourhood of Hoogstraten, behind the little river Merk, he drove in the British outposts, with an intent to turn the left of the army, and cut off the retreat to Bois-le-duc; but the British commander, with great judgment and generalship, effected a timely retreat, and encamped on a large plain seven miles beyond Bois-le-duc, establishing his head-quarters at the village of Udden, and relinquishing the defence of Breda to its garrison.

In this interval Sluys had surrendered, after enduring a vigorous siege, in which the French were also subjected to great inconveniences, and a destructive mortality, both from the nature of their situation, from the height of the tide, and from the exhalation of the inundations, which, besides, made the approaches to the city exceedingly difficult. The besieging army, exhausted

by

by fatigue and illness, could not immediately be employed; and as the battering artillery was not arrived, Pichegru, in sending orders to Jourdan to pass the river Meuse with the Army of the Sambre and the Meuse, and to attack the left wing of the Austrians, prosecuted his original plan of pursuing the Duke of York, and leaving Breda till he should have made some impression on Holland: there was yet another reason for this conduct; if the Austrian Army had defeated the Army of the Sambre and the Meuse, and Pichegru had been occupied with the siege of Breda, his retreat with the Army of the North would have been impossible, if the Duke of York had received reinforcements to give him the superiority of numbers, which he, from the reports of his spies, had every reason to believe would be the case*. Pichegru, however, made a judicious feint of commencing the siege of that place, for the purpose of concealing the amount of his force; and on the 14th of September made a general attack on all the outposts along the Dommel, forcing that of Boxtel, which was chiefly protected by the troops of Hesse Darmstadt. In this affair the French behaved with extraordinary

* Coup-d'œil, page 66, and the note, page 69.

nary valour; all the bridges over the Dommel, as well as those across a neighbouring stream, had been broken down, which retarded the action, commencing at three o'clock, and continuing until six in the evening, when they effected a passage, partly by swimming and partly by raft, and killed, wounded, or made prisoners, upwards of fifteen hundred of the Allies.

As the loss of the Boxtel would oblige His Royal Highness to abandon the whole of his line of defence, it was determined to send Lieutenant-general Abercromby, at the head of the reserve, during the ensuing night, with orders, if possible, to retake it; but the enemy being found too strong, having already received a reinforcement from Pichegru, the English troops returned; and the commander in chief having learned by this time, that numerous columns, to the amount of 80,000 men, were advancing against him, and not being able to muster 20,000 men himself, it was deemed prudent to withdraw, more especially as an attack appeared to be meditated against his left, which was the most vulnerable point*. This portion of the allied troops accordingly retreated across

* See Le Coup-d'œil, page 55, and London Gazette Extraordinary, *Sunday, Sept. 21, 1794.*

across the Meuse in good order, and encamped at Wichen, after some loss in men, horses, and artillery; while Bois-le-duc and Bergen-op-zoom, as well as Breda, being no longer protected by a covering army, were obliged to depend on their own internal strength and resources, which the long resistance and able retreat of the British Prince before a vastly superior enemy, had given the Dutch government time both to improve and augment.

The French Army of the North, on the 19th of the same month, took a position behind the Aar, between Wechel and Bourdouk, and on the ensuing day proceeded to Denter.

Pichegru for a short time discontinued the pursuit of the Duke of York's army, as well on account of the fatigue of the French troops, as from want of good maps; but the Army of the Sambre and the Meuse, agreeably to the orders of Pichegru, attacked and defeated the left wing of the Austrian army, and, after a series of well-contested engagements, in which the numbers of the republicans gave them a constant advantage, the Imperialists were compelled to cross the Rhine at Cologne, with the loss of near ten thousand men. The last battle was peculiarly *bloody: General Clairfayt* had chosen his position

tion near Ruremonde with so much judgment, that Jourdan appeared to be squandering lives with unavailing profusion; and his attack must have remained an everlasting monument of his rashness, had the two wings of the Austrian army exhibited as much courage and discipline as the centre; but at the moment when Clairfayt flattered himself with the prospect of complete success, and of destroying immense numbers of the enemy, while his own troops sustained no injury, he was informed that his wings were forced; and he was obliged to make a hasty, though orderly, retreat, to avoid being turned and overpowered. Jourdan was so doubtful of the courage of his men in this tremendous assault, that he ordered cannon to be placed, to fire on such as might fall back. In a week after this battle, Jourdan gained possession of Cologne and Bonne.

It cannot be denied, that the successes of the French army in Holland were owing to the talents of General Pichegru, to its superiority in point of numbers over the Allies, and to its secret adherents in the interior of that country; because at this period, while the French were victorious in the field, their partisans in the Seven Provinces became additionally alert and insolent,

insolent, and their number daily increased. The States General authorized the Stadtholder to cut the dykes and inundate the country, should the enemy make further advances; but the people were thought to oppose and reprobate the plan, as destructive to their lands and properties. This argument, which inculcated a preference of temporary advantage to permanent freedom, would not perhaps have been popular even in Holland, but that a large portion of the natives, uninstructed by the horrible rapine which devastated and oppressed the inhabitants of Brabant and Flanders*, looked to the French as friends and deli-

* This note is extracted from the work of David on Pichegru's Campaigns, pages 94 and 95: it relates to Brabant and Flanders only, but is applicable to all countries into which French republicans have penetrated, by force or fraud, either during a *peace*, as in Switzerland and Egypt, or during a war, as in Italy and Holland. "Ce n'etoit rien que d'avoir souffert tous les ravages qu'entrainent une guerre aussi terrible; d'avoir vu incendier ou demolir ses maisons; d'avoir vu detruire les plus belles esperances de colte; d'avoir vu prendre ses bleds en gerbes, pour faire les cabanes de nos soldats; il a fallu encore que ce malheureux peuple ait passé par tous les termes du malheur, de l'oppression, et de la devastation. Ses villes ont été inondées d'une cohorte de pro-consuls plus inhumains que Phalaris, qui n'ont rien oublié de ce qui peut exaspérer les hommes; des comités, des tribunaux revolutionaires ont été organisés; *les femmes ont ete insultées, les hommes incarcerés, et les proprietés violées.* Notre code revolutionaire á paru trop doux

pour

deliverers, *who would rescue them from tyranny and taxation*, and permit the poor, under the notion of fraternity, to plunder the opulent. This explains some easy conquests, even to the astonishment of the victors themselves; as treachery, corruption, and cowardice, went often hand in hand.

In order to pursue the English army to the other side of the Meuse, Pichegru judged it absolutely necessary to obtain possession of some strong place, whence his army might draw its subsistence: the bread for the Army of the North came at present from Antwerp, a distance of twenty-

pour ce peuple paisible; il été revu par ces hommes cruels, *et augmenté d'une foule d'arretes qui tous portient peine de* MORT, de sort que *pour un geste ou un mot, un pere de famille etoit envoyé à l'echaufaud, et sa famille etoit livrée aux horreurs de la faim et de la misère*;" and page 97, he continues, "Independamment de tous ces mesures effrayantes, injustes et devastatrices, une nué de requisiteurs et membres de cette *agence*, appellés si improprément *de commerce*, fondoient comme des vautours sur les villes et sur les campagnes, et ruinoient pour long-tems le commercant et l'agriculteur. Jamais operation n'a été faite avec un arbitraire aussi marqué, et aussi revoltant, chaque requisiteur mettoit l'embargo sur les merchandises, sur lesquelles sa cupidité avoit spéculé; ici c'etoit les *linons*, *les dentelles*, etc. qui etoient reçues pour les besoins de l'armée, la c'etoit *les vernis*, *les tableaux*, *les voitures*, de luce, etc. etc." Citizen David is a Frenchman, and a republican, and has, therefore, certainly not exaggerated the blessings of French *fraternity*.

twenty-five leagues, or seventy-five miles, through almost impracticable roads; and as both horses and waggons were wanting to have it transported, it never arrived in a regular manner, and often the troops had no bread at all.

Bois-le-duc was the most convenient place, both to ensure a favourable position for the army, and to establish magazines. It became, therefore, of great consequence to get hold of this city, before the passage of the Meuse was attempted, though the enterprise was not only difficult but perilous. The place was defended by several forts well supplied with artillery, and in good order, which were thought impregnable. The inundations, which extend themselves to upwards of three hundred fathoms, or 1800 feet, from its ramparts, make it an island in the middle of a great river: and, were it even possible to make a breach, all the fascines of France would not be sufficient to approach it.

Independently of all these difficulties, for want of horses, General Pichegru had yet his heavy artillery for a siege at a great distance; the season was far advanced, and by the usual rains of that time of the year the inundations might have been augmented in such a manner as to make *any trenches impracticable*.

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Notwithstanding all these obstacles, however, Pichegru determined to undertake the siege: the place was invested by the French cavalry on the 23d of September, and the next day the infantry was placed. Some batteries of howitzers were constructed to set fire to the city, and the trenches were opened, but became every day more difficult, because the waters increased. On the 24th of September, the fort of Orlen was seized, being evacuated by the enemy; and on the 29th, the fort of Crevecœur capitulated, after a bombardment of two days. This fort defended the sluices over the Meuse, and was, therefore, of great importance.

By incessant rains, the floods and inundations round Bois-le-duc were so much increased, as to make a siege, if not impossible, at least long and destructive: the trenches were at too great a distance, and as it was not in the power of the French engineers to advance them nearer, they became useless; Pichegru, and all the other generals, were therefore doubtful of the success of this siege, when the commander, to their great surprize, terminated their suspense on the 11th of October, by a voluntary surrender, obtaining an advantageous, but not an honourable capitulation.

The

The Dutch had also abandoned the fort of St. André, situated on a small island formed by the Meuse and Waal, eastward of Bommel; but it was bravely retaken from the French by Lieutenant-general Abercromby, and proved a material impediment to the further operations of the republicans.

On the 14th of October, Pichegru marched towards Grave with the army under his command; which place had, during the short siege of Bois-le-duc, been partly invested by a division under the orders of General Bonneau.

General Pichegru, having now a place of strength to support his motions, had on the 19th crossed the Lower Meuse in pursuit of the enemy (regulating his movements in exact conformity to the operations of Jourdan), and completed the investing of Grave. This place entered necessarily in the French line of fortifications on the Meuse, because the project being formed to capture Maestricht and Venloo, it would have been imprudent to leave behind a fort so near Bois-le-duc; besides, these measures were indispensable to support the left wing of the Army of the Sambre and the Meuse, by the right wing of the Army of the North.

The Duke of York, who is allowed on this,

as well as on many other occasions, even by the enemy, to have conducted his retreat with great ability* in the face of a superior army, waited for the invaders in a strong position in the neighbourhood of Pufflech, having his two wings supported by two rivers. On the 19th of October, the French, notwithstanding this, moved forward in four columns, and attacked the whole of the advanced posts on his right, particularly those of Doutin and Appelthern, the former of which was defeated by the 37th regiment, and the latter by the Prince of Rohan's light battalion. The troops conducted themselves with great gallantry; but a post on the left having been forced, Major Hope, after distinguishing himself

* Had the son of a sans-culotte acted with the same ability as the son of a king, and encountered nobly, and often victoriously, so many difficulties from the superior number of his foes, and from the treachery or cowardice of his friends and allies, a thousand voices would have proclaimed his great performances; but while the friends of loyalty are silent, a French Citizen, an avowed enemy to England and its Prince, writes thus: "Un historien impartial ne peut pas s'empecher de convenir *que dans cette occasion, et dans beaucoup d'autres, les dispositions de l'ennemi pour la defensive, ont toujours été marquées au coin de la bonne tactique. On peut dire la meme chose de toutes leurs retraites Celle que les Anglais firent dans cette occasion merites des éloges; elle exigeoit les plus grandes precautions, et on peut affirmer qu'il n'y en eut aucunes de negligées.*" See Campagnes du General Pichegru, par le Citoyen David, page 114.

himself greatly, was obliged to retreat along the dyke of the Waal, where his regiment, being charged furiously by the enemy's horse, suffered considerably; Major-general Fox is said to have been at the same time nearly taken prisoner, and to have been actually detained for a few minutes by some French hussars, while encouraging the troops to a strenuous opposition. On this occation, too, the unfortunate emigrants in British pay, fighting bravely, suffered considerably.

After this engagement, the Duke of York immediately retired behind the Waal; while Pichegru with the invading army, notwithstanding the advanced season of the year, and the obstacles arising out of the nature of the country, prepared to besiege the neighbouring garrisons.

Venloo was accordingly invested by General Laurent, who is said, upon this occasion, to have had no more than 4000 men under his command, and to have been destitute of heavy artillery. He, however, commenced his operations within 100 fathoms of the covered way. The garrison, after a vigorous sally, in which it was repulsed, intimidated by the vigour of the French, and the proximity of their works, on the 27th of October assented to a capitulation, and was permitted

permitted to march out with the honours of war and ten pieces of cannon.

Pichegru's first division of the Army of the North, and one of the strongest in this army, never once made a retrograde motion. To this division, and to that under General Moreau, France is indebted for all its triumphs during the campaign in Flanders and in Holland. When the one besieged any place, the other protected its undertakings as an army of observation; neither the one nor the other miscarried in their enterprises; but such are the gratitude and justice of a republican government, that of the two generals who conducted them to victory, the one is proscribed and in exile, the other neglected, and in disgrace.

From the fatiguing course of one of the most active campaigns, and from the constant custom of sleeping always in his clothes, Pichegru contracted an inveterate cutaneous disease. He had now sat down before Nimeguen with the main body of the forces, but was obliged, by his complaint, to abandon the command to his friend and pupil Moreau, and to repair to Brussels to obtain medical advice and assistance. He continued, however, to direct the operations both of

of the Army of the North, and of the Sambre and Meuse, by his counsels and correspondence with Moreau and Jourdan.

During Pichegru's absence, General Kleber greatly facilitated the operations of the two grand armies, by the celerity with which he reduced Maestricht. This city was besieged and taken by Louis XIV. in thirteen, and by Louis XV. in twenty-one days; General Miranda, in 1793, had for nine days attacked it in vain; but it now capitulated, although the trenches had been opened only eleven days: another proof of the want of courage and of character in the Dutch commanders.

The French, however, appeared for a while to be less fortunate in their attack upon Nimeguen, another city which was not only defended by a numerous garrison, but covered by the Duke of York, who, from his camp at Arnheim, was enabled at any time to throw in supplies.

The enemy, after forcing the British outposts in front of the place, immediately attacked fort St. André; and Lieutenant-general Abercromby, and Lieutenant-colonel Clark, were slightly wounded in the skirmish that ensued, as was also Captain Picton in a sally from the place. *At length the French* broke ground, under the

direction of General Souham, and began, on the 5th of November, to construct their batteries; on which Count Walmoden marched out suddenly with a body of British infantry and cavalry, consisting of the 8th, 27th, 28th, 55th, 63d, and 78th regiments of foot, and the 7th and 15th light horse, two battalions of Dutch, the legion of Damas, and some Hanoverian horse, under Major-general De Burgh, who was wounded while leading on his men with great gallantry. On this occasion the infantry advanced under a severe fire, and jumping into the trenches without returning a shot, charged with the bayonet, and by this check greatly retarded the enemy's works.

As it now appeared evident, that the place could not be taken until all intercourse with the English army was cut off, two strong batteries were constructed on the right and left of the lines of defence; and these were so effectually served, that they at length destroyed one of the boats which supported the bridge of communication. The damage sustained upon this occasion was immediately repaired by Captain Popham, of the royal navy; but the Duke of York, being aware of the superiority of the enemy's *fire, judiciously* determined to withdraw every

thing

thing from the town, beyond what was barely necessary for its defence. All the artillery of the reserve, with the British, Hanoverian, and Hessian battalions, accordingly retired; but piquets, to the amount of twenty-five thousand men, were left under the command of Major-general De Burgh. The Dutch, on seeing themselves abandoned, became dispirited, and determined also to evacuate the place; but an unfortunate shot having carried away the top of the mast of the flying bridge, it swung round, and about four hundred of the garrison were taken prisoners, on which those that remained in the fortifications opened the gates to the besiegers. The same regicides, who, some months before, irritated by the bravery of Britons in Flanders, had decreed that no quarter should be given to British soldiers, exasperated at the gallant resistance of the English army in Holland against superior forces, now revenged themselves, by publishing the most absurd reports, accusing the English of perfidy, and asserting that they fired on their allies, the Dutch, while attempting to escape by means of the flying bridge. This accusation of perfidy against England, from men who had betrayed and murdered their king, and shot, drowned, or guillotined 900,000 of their

countrymen *, is not surprising; but that it should be copied or believed by foreigners, shews the progress which revolutionary principles had every where made.

The Duke of York, desirous of avoiding an engagement which might have been attended with the most fatal effects with regard to Holland, retired immediately after the surrender of Nimeguen, on the 8th of November; while Moreau, and the other generals, represented the state of the French army to be such as required repose. The British troops had now gone into cantonments along the Waal, and on the opposite side of the Lech: the weather was extremely severe, the troops sickly, and fatigued with the severe duty of maintaining a cordon of strong piquets along the Waal, from Bommel on the right, where they joined the Dutch, to Pameren on the left, where they communicated with the Austrians. The French were more fatigued, and had not fewer invalids in proportion than the Allies; but the French government was inexorable, and, notwithstanding the rigour of the climate and the season, determined to prosecute offensive military

* See Prudhomme Tableau Generale, and Dictionnaire Biographique, tom. iii. page 60.

litary operations during the whole winter. The passage of the Waal was accordingly resolved upon; and General Daendels, a Dutch traitor, formerly an attorney, was entrusted with the enterprise. Having collected a number of boats, he filled them with troops, and effected a landing near the port of Ghent during a thick fog, in consequence of which he was also enabled to surprise a battery. This attack, which extended to several posts in the line occupied by the Allies, particularly fort St. André, Donvert, Panderon, and the isle of Byland, did not, however, prove ultimately successful; for many of the assailants were killed upon this occasion by the fire of the batteries, and a multitude drowned; in consequence of which, the project was at length entirely relinquished. Preparations, however, were made to facilitate the operations of the approaching campaign; and the Generals Bonneau and Le Maire received orders from General Pichegru to invest Breda by means of winter cantonments. Grave also was surrounded in a similar manner, and all the necessary dispositions were taken to ensure the conquest of Holland in the course of the ensuing spring.

The operations of the French had been now suspended *upwards of* a month, and an awful

pause had taken place in the career of victory; it was even uncertain, whether, on the return of fine weather, it would be safe to venture further into a country which might be so easily laid under water: and the genial winters that had occurred in Europe since 1788, forbade a hope of that degree of congelation necessary for military enterprises.

The season, however, soon assumed a menacing appearance for the Dutch; for the frost set in toward the latter end of the year with an unexpected degree of rigour. On this, General Pichegru, for whom repose had no longer any charms, although his health was not yet entirely re-established, immediately left Brussels, and proceeded to head-quarters. This general had, the year before, made a winter campaign on the Upper Rhine, with the greatest success; but what he had effected in the cold season in that country, he might have done during the spring; while such a severe winter as that of 1795 was absolutely necessary to obtain any brilliant conquests in Holland. On resuming the command of the Army of the North, he found that both the Meuse and the Waal were already able to bear troops; he determined therefore to take advantage of this opportunity to complete his projects.

Two

Two brigades, under the Generals Daendels and Osten, on the 27th of December received orders to march across the ice to the isle of Bommel; a detachment was at the same time sent off against fort St. André; and the reduction of those places, which at any other time would have been attended with great slaughter, was now achieved almost without bloodshed, at a time when the mercury in the thermometer had fallen lower than at any former period during the last thirty years. Sixteen hundred prisoners, and an immense number of cannon, rewarded the toils of the invading army; while the Allies, unable to withstand their numbers, retired to the entrenchments between Gorcum and Cuylenberg. A successful attack was made at the same time on the lines of Breda, Oudesbesch, and Sevenbergen; but what was infinitely more important, the town of Grave, considered as a master-piece of fortification, and which had already suffered a blockade of two months, being destitute of provisions and ammunition, was, on the 29th of December, forced to surrender.

A few days after this, the weather continuing favourable to his enterprise, Pichegru determined to cross the Waal in the neighbourhood of Nimeguen, with his whole army; this was accord-

ingly effected on the 11th of January 1795, and whole battalions of infantry, squadrons of cavalry, detachments of artillery, with an immense number of waggons, passed over this branch of the Rhine without the assistance of either bridges or boats. The whole of the troops had not, however, reached the place of destination, when on the 13th a sudden thaw, by cutting off the communication, seemed to hazard the success of the whole expedition; but the frost the next day resuming its empire, enabled the French to form a junction; and Gorcum, the head-quarters of the Prince of Orange, was now threatened with an assault.

The Duke of York having, in the mean time, returned to England, universally regretted, the command devolved upon General Walmoden, who achieved every thing that was possible to be performed by an army destined to contend against an enemy superior in point of numbers, inured to hardships, and accustomed to victory. But although Major-general David Dundas had succeeded in an expedition, in the course of which he boldly carried Tayl, and drove a body of the enemy across the ice, with the loss of a number of men, and four pieces of cannon; yet it was deemed necessary, in the course of a few

days, to remove the head-quarters from Arnheim to Amerongen. An intense frost having converted the whole of the Low Country into one continued sheet of ice, the Allies were obliged to fall back during the night upon Buren; and they soon after took refuge behind the Lech. They, however, at times attacked the enemy, and proved successful in an affair at Gelder Malsel, on which occasion Major-general Lord Cathcart, with the 14th, 27th, and 28th regiments, and the British hulans, distinguished himself greatly, and this too, during a period when the troops, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, were frequently obliged to pass the night in the open air.

Pichegru, having completed his arrangements, crossed the Waal in still greater force, and attacked several points at the same time on the whole line of the Allies: one column passed at Pameren, and another at the village of Ghent, but were repulsed; a third crossed near Nimeguen, and, in conjunction with two columns which had passed between Tiel and Dodewaert, attacked the British positions on that side. The Austrians had abandoned Heusden, and passed the Lech; and the Hanoverians, with General Coate's brigade, consisting of the 40th, 59th, and 79th re-

giments, were obliged to fall back on Lent: the French had all their troops on the opposite side of the river, and on a signal given they crossed in great numbers, and attacked General Coates; the 40th and 79th regiments were placed about half a mile in the rear, close to a wood, and the 59th were left to engage, and try to draw them into the ambuscade; but a strong column of the enemy forced their way between the 59th and the main body: on their falling back on Lent, they found it in the possession of the enemy, and, in consequence, retired across the Lingen, where they maintained themselves behind the river, near Elst.

The French obtained immediate possession of Buren and Cuylenberg, and prepared to besiege Gorcum, which, from the strength of the works, and the facility of inundation, had been considered as the key of Holland: it was the head-quarters of the Stadtholder; but the frost rendering resistance impossible, he quitted the untenable fortress, and finding, from the ascendancy of his enemies, that his residence in the United States was no longer secure, abandoned that ungrateful country, which, forgetful of its great obligations to himself, his family, and his ancestors, and its duty as an independent state, was

plunging

plunging with blindfold confidence into the most despicable and hopeless bondage. The Stadtholder, and a great number of respectable natives of Holland, who preceded or accompanied him, found a safe refuge and cheerful welcome in England, where his Serene Highness landed on the 20th of January, 1795.

While the Stadtholder was thus forced to fly from a country where his ancestors, by their intrepidity and patriotism, had established liberty and independence, a French officer, with dispatches from General Pichegru, entered Amsterdam, and repaired to the house of the burgomaster. In the evening of the same day, numbers of the rabble placed the three-coloured cockade in their hats, and made the streets resound with rebellious airs. Next morning a detachment of hussars posted themselves before the town-house, where the tree of liberty* was planted with a ridiculous solemnity, and the command of the place conferred on Citizen Krayenhoff, one of the disaffected and insurgent Dutchmen; while

* Inundated with blood every where, the tree of liberty flourishes no where. In France they call it, *l'arbre de misère, decoré d'un bonnet du galère*; and, in fact, the liberty of galley-slaves is the *only fruit* that it produces.

while De Winter, of the same party, but a general in the French service, with the French light horse, took possession of the fleet frozen up in the Texel.

At the time when Pichegru crossed the Waal, General Bonneau left the environs of Breda, and attacked Gertruydenberg: the British troops, finding themselves unable to maintain their position in the province of Utrecht, retreated towards Westphalia, after sustaining a severe attack all along their line, from Arnheim to Amorengen; and this province entered into a separate capitulation for itself, receiving the French with prostrate submission and eager welcome; while the retreating army of the British was treated with savage cruelty, the sick and wounded were insulted, plundered, and even murdered, by these worthless and ungrateful Allies, in whose cause they had shed their blood and lost their health. The intense coldness of the winter increased the miseries of the retreating army, and produced scenes of distress which cannot be reflected on without horror and anguish.

On the very same day that the Stadtholder landed in England, Pichegru, the conqueror of Holland, surrounded by the deputies of the States, repaired to Amsterdam, the chief city of

the union, where he was received with transports of joy. The modesty of Pichegru, on this and all other occasions, when crowned by victory and obtaining applause, was a reproachful contrast to the insolence and pretensions of the French representatives, and their associates the Dutch patriots; and it required all Pichegru's firmness of character to prevent those scenes of plunder, vengeance, bloodshed and proscription, taking place in Holland, which had so lately dishonoured France.

After the French had obtained possession of Amsterdam, Pichegru ordered Bonneau's division to pass the lake Biesboch, and it occupied Dordrecht, Rotterdam, the Hague, Brille, and Helvoetsluys; while General Macdonald entered Naerden. The province of Zealand having also capitulated, the light troops, consisting chiefly of horse and artillery, had marched into North Holland, and added to the wonders of Pichegru's campaign the unprecedented circumstance of taking a fleet.

Overyssel, Groningen, and Friezland, were still in the possession of the British army; but, diminished as they were in numbers, hostile as were the Dutch towards them, and immensely superior in force as were the French, their situa-

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tion could not be longer tenable; nor was it either politic or desirable, under such circumstances, to retain ground in such a country. A thaw having commenced, the depth of water rendered the passage by the usual route impracticable.

According to Pichegru's orders, the French under Macdonald having taken a position between Campen, Zwoll, and Deventer, while Moreau occupied Zutcher, General Abercromby became apprehensive that, in case of an attack, his retreat would be cut off; he therefore withdrew his troops from the advanced posts, and marched to Bentheim, by way of Euchede and Velthuysen; and the British head-quarters were moved first to Osnaburgh, and afterwards to Diepholtz; the republicans being every where received by the decree of the new government of the United States as friends. At last the British forces marched to Bremen, and thence to Bemerleehe, where they embarked for England, after surmounting toils and difficulties seldom equalled, with a valour, perseverance, and discipline, which were never surpassed.

Thus ended the campaign in Holland, during which Pichegru, aided by the rigours of an accidental frost, achieved conquests which one of the greatest

greatest French monarchs had been unable to effect; for the Lech had proved an unsurmountable barrier to Louis XIV. in 1672, amidst his career of glory; while Pichegru, with an army belonging to a country degraded by rebellion, without a chief, destitute of a government, and devoid of finances, after crossing both that river and the Yssel, carried his conquering arms to the borders of the Ems.

General Pichegru, by this brilliant campaign, has convinced military men that the former system of tactics, which began by making sieges, and squandering away by that means the bravest troops, was not the best. A place well fortified is impregnable as long as it is defended by a brave army; but no fortress can hold out any length of time, when the troops who should protect it are defeated. Had the Combined Powers, in 1793, adopted and followed the same tactics which made Pichegru victorious in 1794, a regular government would probably have now existed in France; Frenchmen would have been happy and tranquil, and Europe free. The truth of this assertion is evident, from the manner in which France got possession of Valenciennes, Condé, Quesnoy, Luxembourg, &c.

Pichegru never laid siege to any fort or forti-

fied

fied place which was not absolutely necessary to protect the position of his army; and with this precaution he, in nine months, conquered a greater extent of country, and forced more fortresses to surrender, than any French warriors who had preceded him in leading Frenchmen to victory, either under Henry IV. or the four Louises his successors.

Frenchmen are too ardent and too impatient to perform operations well which demand a great deal of patience and constancy. In a battle, the decision of which cannot be long suspended, they fight bravely when they confide in their officers; but a long and difficult siege discourages, and often disheartens them: the troops over whom Pichegru took the command in the spring of 1794, were besides mostly new levies, without either experience, spirit, or knowledge enough to undertake and endure a long siege; they had enthusiasm and courage, but no capacity; and in employing wisely the former, he taught them the latter.

If Pichegru had not known the French character better than the Committee of Public Safety, if he had implicitly followed its orders, and not adopted a new and unusual system of tactics, 50,000 men at least would have perished before

Valen-

Valenciennes, Condé, and Quesnoy, without calculating upon those which probably would have been destroyed by defeat; had he even been victorious, from the time that he must necessarily have spent in besieging those places according to the rules of war, he would have been unable to extend his conquests so far as he did. The late King of Prussia, from the beginning of the campaign, did Pichegru more justice than Carnot and the other republican tyrants of the Committee of Public Safety ever did: he wrote a letter to the Emperor, inserted in the Belgic newspapers, in which he said, "It is impossible to save your country from an invasion; the French have armies always revived by fresh and numerous recruits; and do not deceive yourself, *their generals have adopted a good system of tactics, which confutes and baffles ours* *."

Success has perfectly justified Pichegru's plans; but although they had not been crowned with victory, they deserved both applause and admiration, because all impartial military men must acknowledge them not only to be good ones, but superior to all yet invented or introduced by former great generals. Had Pichegru miscarried, however;

* Coup-d'œil page 84, and David's Campaign, page 32.

however, such were the ignorance and cruelty of the republican rulers, that his head would have paid for his misfortune. Pichegru left three strong fortresses for months behind him, without appearing to have been embarrassed about them, and they surrendered to France as if from themselves. When he crossed the Meuse, he left in the same manner behind him Sas de Grand, Hultz, and Axel, in Flanders, and Bergen-op-zoom and Breda, in Dutch Brabant, and these places soon followed the example of those in Henault. These are facts which not only instruct, but convince.

No sooner had Pichegru's victories effected a revolution in Holland, than the intrigues, plunder, and crimes of the representatives who accompanied him, lessened or tarnished the glory of his arms. Requisitions, forced loans, military executions, and contributions, were within the first six weeks enacted to the amount of twenty-five millions sterling. The property of the Stadtholder, as Chief of the United States, as well as his private and family property, were confiscated, and disposed of in the name of the French Republic. The Dutch patriots, protected by the French representatives, plundered the estates and possessions of the adherents of this

this Prince, and arrested and proscribed their persons and families. The bank of Amsterdam was inspected, robbed, and sealed with the French republican seal; the public treasures of each city, of the hospitals, of the orphan houses, and of the churches, French rapacity carried away or emptied; the magazines of the state, and its arsenals, were sequestrated, and the warehouses and even the shops of individuals were in perpetual requisition; most of the shops of goldsmiths and jewellers were cleared in twenty-four hours, and their value paid by the French commissaries in assignats, which were of no value in Holland, and of but little in France: under the title of patriotic donation, the plate, and even the trinkets of each person were, under pain of imprisonment and severe penalty, ordered to be delivered up *. It is impossible to know to what length the French republicans and the Dutch patriots would have carried their extortions, vengeance, and violence, had the French military commander acted as the French pro-consuls and civil commissaries did. Jacobin clubs, revolutionary committees, prisons, and the guillotine, would, no doubt,

* Le Coup-d'œil, page 86. Le Reconnoissance Batave, printed *by Ahem, Amsterdam*, 1795, page 6.

doubt, then have been as much the order of the day in Holland as they were in France; but Pichegru, as far as lay in his power, opposed and prevented all such cruel, tyrannical, and revolutionary measures; and all good Dutchmen owe it solely to his justice, moderation, and humanity, that their country was neither inundated with blood, nor disgraced and ruined by anarchy; and that at a period when it was a crime among French republicans to be humane, moderate, and just, and a fashionable virtue to be barbarous, unfeeling, and exorbitant.

In February 1795, the new-created States General of the Batavian Republic offered General Pichegru an annuity of twelve thousand florins, which, however, notwithstanding his poverty and his services, he declined: he said on this occasion, to the members of the Dutch government who waited upon him with the offer, and who declared that *they owed to him, and to him alone, the restoration of freedom*; "that the only reward agreeable to him, and *without which he ever should regret his victories*, would be, that the terrible example of the French might serve as a lesson and warning to them and their countrymen, and that under the name of liberty, no slavery might be introduced and made permanent."

nent:" and although this offer was more than once repeated, Pichegru always continued inflexible; and during all the time he passed in Holland, he never accepted a single present, nor any thing besides his pay; whilst the *worthy* representatives of the French people not only enriched themselves by their rapine, but exhausted the Batavian Commonwealth by their extravagance; destroyed the religious principles of its citizens by their writings and seductions, and perverted their moral notions by their scandalous and infamous examples *.

Under revolutionary governments founded upon crime and wickedness, it is as unsafe to be virtuous and uncorruptible, as under regular and moral governments it is dishonourable to be vicious and degrading to be corrupt. When Pichegru refused to share the plunder of Holland with the representatives of the French people, and rejected the annuity offered to him by the Batavians, he became suspected by the regicides, Sieyes and Rewbel, as a royalist, and by the Committee of Public Safety as an enemy to the Republic. As, however, neither the army nor the French nation at large agreed with the opinions

* *The last-mentioned* pamphlet, page 10.

opinions either of the committee or of its worthy delegates, instead of degrading, they ennobled him, expecting, by promoting him above all his fellow-citizens, to make him envied or hated in a republic where the principles of equality had made the most absurd as well as the most dangerous progress; but the modesty and patriotism of Pichegru disappointed their expectations.

As the Prussian ministers had dishonoured their monarchy by a peace with regicide France, and Austria had evacuated the countries on the Lower Rhine, Pichegru, having no more enemies to combat with the Army of the North, was nominated to direct the operations of the Armies of the Rhine and the Moselle, although he continued commander in chief over the Armies of the North and of the Sambre and Meuse, entrusted to the guidance of Moreau and Jourdan: he had therefore under his orders more troops than any republican general before him ever disposed of; and, with the exception of General Washington, he is the only military chief of a commonwealth, possessing the love and confidence of his soldiers, and the esteem of his fellow-citizens, who did not usurp the government of his country at the expence of the liberty of his countrymen.

By an invitation from the National Convention, Pichegru went to Paris before he assumed his new appointment: since the death of Robespierre, his accomplices or slaves in that assembly had been divided among themselves; those who had grown rich by their revolutionary crimes desired a more moderate government, that they might enjoy with safety the fruit of their spoils: whilst others, who were as guilty, but who, through ignorance or prodigality, possessed nothing but the prospect of invading and sharing in their turn the property and riches of other people, plotted to continue the reign of anarchy and terror.

On his arrival in the capital, Pichegru was nominated the commandant and governor *ad interim*; and by his presence and able dispositions, defeated, on the 1st of April, 1795, the projects of the terrorists, who intended to issue new lists of proscriptions; to fill again the prisons with victims, and to erect anew scaffolds for innocence, honour, and virtue. Carnot, Barras, and their accomplices, never forgave Pichegru this avowed declaration against their former revolutionary deeds and future *patriotic* plans; and, disunited as they have been among themselves, they always agreed in injuring as much

as lay in their power, a citizen and a general who was no friend to vice, and no tool of faction, without ambition as well as without guilt, and whom they could not but regard as their common enemy, knowing, as they did, that at all times he had proved his abhorrence of conventional marauders and regicide assassins, although shielded under the great and terrible names of representatives of the people, of republican patriots, or jacobin sans-culottes.

The more Pichegru became acquainted with the Parisian republicans, the more their principles distressed him, and their conduct disgusted him, because he found them dangerous as citizens, and despicable as men; abject to their superiors, haughty to their equals, and fierce and inhuman to their inferiors, having neither character, information, nor conscience; his stay at Paris was therefore short; and as soon as he had regulated the concerns of his armies, he set out for Strasburgh.

It was very probable, that Pichegru, with the resources and talents that he possessed, would make the campaign of 1795 as brilliant as that of the preceding year; but this was neither the wish nor the interest of the jacobins, because it would have given him too great a popularity; and

and these envious foes, not being able to change his principles, nor daring enough to deprive him of the command, calumniated the former, and by their intrigues *neutralized*, or rather made ineffectual the latter, and his efforts to serve his country. At his arrival on the Rhine, he found an undisciplined army, in which political discussions occupied the time necessary for military exercise: there the different parties of the National Convention had each its adherents, who mutually detested, and would rather turn their arms against each other, than against the enemies of their country. Not a day passed but some citizens were killed in duels, or in private combats, in consequence of their political quarrels; and the representatives of the people, instead of concurring with Pichegru to put an end to these disorganizing transactions, which, in the face of the Austrians, even endangered the safety of the army, rather encouraged them, by promoting the most violent men, and those who were the principal cause of these dishonourable disturbances.

Jourdan, who commanded the Army of the Sambre and Meuse, is a man of no education, of doubtful abilities as a general, and unprincipled as a politician. During the American war he

served as a common soldier; and from the beginning of the Revolution he made himself noted as one of the most violent orators of the jacobin club at Limoges, where he was born, and where, in 1792, he was by the jacobins chosen commander of a battalion of national volunteers: by sacrificing unnecessarily, in the manner of Buonaparte, thousands of lives, he has sometimes been victorious, but oftener defeated; and a defeated army under him became immediately a disorganized and dispersed one, because he has no capacity to form a regular retreat, and in his attacks his only resource is to overpower an enemy by the number of his troops. To embroil such a man and a known terrorist with Pichegru, was easily done: as even, during the last campaign, Jourdan had more than once shewn his jealousy of Pichegru's victories, and his vexation at being obliged to act under his orders.

Pichegru had instructions not to open the campaign before Jourdan could co-operate with him, nor before Luxemburgh, which was blockaded, should have surrendered. This fortress capitulated on the 7th of June, 1795; but, notwithstanding Pichegru's endeavours and entreaties, either from the incapacity or malevolence

of

of Jourdan, the summer had passed over before the Army of the Sambre and Meuse had put itself in motion.

On the 18th of September Jourdan crossed the Rhine and attacked Dusseldorff. The city was instantly summoned, and, having refused to surrender, was taken by assault, the Austrian garrison having previously retired towards the Lahn, where General Clairfayt, who commanded this division, was joined by a considerable force.

No sooner had Pichegru received intelligence of these exploits, than he also crossed the Rhine with the Army of the Rhine, and the left wing of that of the Moselle. He advanced directly against Manheim, and obtained possession of that important city with a degree of facility so disproportionate to the strength of the place, that it was evident he must have been favoured by the good wishes, at least of the inhabitants, or by the opinion they had of his humanity and generosity. On this, General Wurmser, the Austrian commander on the Upper Rhine, who was advancing by rapid marches to its relief, endeavoured to form a junction with General Clairfayt; but he was overtaken by General Pichegru, and defeated by a detachment of the army under his command.

The effects of the intrigues of the disorganizing terrorists at Paris were now felt by Pichegru, who, immediately after his late victory, went to inspect and direct some new fortifications added to the city of Manheim. During his absence, the French, dispersing themselves in quest of plunder, were surprised and overcome by the Austrians; and in consequence of one of those sudden reverses so common in all wars, but more especially during the last, the fortune of the campaign, from being highly disastrous, became at length eminently propitious to the Imperial arms.

Meanwhile, Jourdan, according to a plan previously arranged, had crossed the Mein, and invested Mentz, on the right side of the Rhine; but General Clairfayt fell suddenly on his rear, captured his artillery, and obliged him to raise the blockade, re-cross the Mein, and retreat to Dusseldorff; while his rear was constantly harassed by the victorious Austrians.

In consequence of Jourdan's defeat, Pichegru was also obliged to retreat to the other side of the Rhine, leaving a strong garrison in Manheim, and hoping to reinforce the French camp near Mentz sufficiently to resist the Austrians; but before he could arrive the attack had been made,

made, the French completely routed, their artillery taken, and they, with difficulty, enabled to effect even a disorderly retreat. The victorious armies under Wurmser and Clairfayt, having formed a junction, retook the Palatinate, and the greater part of the country between the Rhine and the Moselle. Pichegru, some time after, effected a junction with Jourdan; but in such confusion was the Army of the Sambre and the Meuse, that their greatest efforts could not prevent the recapture of Manheim, though they impeded a project formed by the Imperialists for penetrating to Luxemburgh.

After receiving some reinforcements, Pichegru and Jourdan marched, on the 28th of November, to encounter the triumphant enemy. On the first of December, the former carried the town of Kreutznach twice by storm; but he was obliged at length to evacuate that place, because his colleague was repulsed soon after, in an ill-conducted attack upon Keyserslautern, in which he lost two thousand men. At last the severity of the season, and an unexpected armistice of three months, put an end to the campaign, the close of which was not only far different from its commencement, but also from what might have

been augured from the relative forces of the contending powers.

This was the first armistice concluded between regicide France and Imperial Austria: the latter, though victorious, obtained not an inch of ground, for agreeing to a cessation of arms which enabled the former to recruit its forces, to organize its armies and its newly-erected directorial government, and to prepare the decisive campaign of 1796; whilst, in 1800, when Austria was forced to sue for an armistice, none was granted but at the expence of fortresses, and countries given up or evacuated. Such has been the difference between the Imperial and the republican policy during the late contest; which proves that France is as much indebted to its Philips as to its Alexanders for the fortunate issue.

In October 1795, the Directory had succeeded the Committee of Public Safety in the Executive Government of France: of its members, three were regicides and two were atheists, and of course the enemies of a general whose loyalty and religion were known and respected all over France. The Director Carnot, in his writings, has acknowledged, and even boasted of having, by *refusing to attend* to Pichegru's complaints against

Jourdan

Jourdan and the disorganizing deputies and emissaries in his army, forced him to resign*: so situated, even the talents of a Pichegru could not bring about impossibilities; and it can therefore excite no surprise, nor merit any reproach, if, finding all his labours rewarded with mistrust, ingratitude, and calumny, he threw up, in disgust, the command over the four French armies.

When Pichegru, in 1793, was made a commander in chief, the military men, as well as other citizens in France, had their persecutors, revolutionary tribunals, and executioners. Promotion always depended upon the caprice of the pro-consuls, who often, to settle advantageously their relatives or friends, deposed or arrested officers occupying with honour and distinction command and places. Discretion, moderation, a decent cleanliness in dress, and a polite language, were proscribed as indicating aristocracy, and occasioned the loss of rank, liberty, and life, to a person noted for any of these agreeable qualities. The best recommendation to advancement was, not to do one's duty, but to make extravagant

* Le Coup-d'œil, page 89. Dictionnaire Biographique, tom. iii. page 177.

travagant and incendiary motions at the jacobin clubs; to speak of nothing but treason, aristocrats, and the guillotine; and if a soldier left his post to declaim or denounce in a club, any officer punishing this infraction of military discipline was certain to be shot or broken, as an emissary of Pitt and Cobourg.

The *physical* existence of military men was therefore as uncertain, and more exposed than that of other citizens, because they had to fear both the commissioners of death (as they were called), composed of the same elements as the revolutionary tribunals, and which were attached to and followed the armies, and the fire and sword of the enemy. Their *political* existence depended upon a nod, a word, or a calumniator, who envied them or wanted to succeed them; and the pro-consuls made a game and a gain of placing or replacing generals and officers, or, which was the same, of disorganizing every thing.

Such was the critical situation of all persons serving in the Army of the North, even when Pichegru arrived as its chief; and therefore, except at Hundscooten and near Maubeuge, it had been continually defeated. He had the good luck to be accompanied by the only irreproachable deputy to the armies, Citizen Richard, who

was as just, regular, and severe, as himself, but who, in a short time, on that very account, was recalled: all the other deputies were cruelly unjust and shockingly ignorant. As the greatest number of the officers and soldiers detested the conduct of these men, and of the generals who submitted to be their tools or accomplices, Pichegru, by uniting justice with severity, duty with regularity, and reward with impartiality, in a few weeks obtained their esteem and confidence. This was the principal reason why he was so soon able to establish a discipline which alone procured him victory *.

The modesty which appeared in all his reports, bears a striking contrast to those of Dumourier, Custine, Jourdan, Buonaparte, and Menou, as well as with those of the conventional deputies or commissaries, who often, ten leagues from the field of battle, killed enemies in their official dispatches, who continued fighting against France; and revived Frenchmen, who had been killed and buried by their enemies.

The political system of the members of the Committee of Public Safety was so dreadful, that

* Le Coup-d'œil, page 90; and David's Memoires, page 64.

that all generals feared their fury. Some commanders thought to avoid it by exaggerating their success, others by leaving them in ignorance as to its extent. This last method agreed best with the modest character of Pichegru, and he adopted it. He never once furnished any long relations concerning his victories and progress, but contented himself with publishing their great consequence, without entering into particulars.

Dumourier, Jourdan, and Buonaparte, seldom obtained advantages but by throwing away the lives of the soldiers under their command, by filling the trenches of the enemy with their killed men, and by fatiguing their adversaries by attacks twenty times repeated: such was, in a great measure, their military science; that is to say, that of brave, but obstinate and unfeeling men. Pichegru, on the contrary, knew how to manœuvre, how to deceive an enemy by his evolutions, marches, and counter-marches, as well as how to attack him in an open field, or in a fortified camp. In all his different campaigns, Moreau has followed Pichegru's tactics and method in conducting his army.

Pichegru, Moreau, and Buonaparte, are accounted, both in France and in Europe, the three best

best republican generals, because they possess, in an eminent degree, besides the common talents absolutely necessary for a warrior, one of those qualities which proclaims genius, and constitutes a great captain: Buonaparte has that audacity of sentiment, that promptitude in execution, which repairs his faults, or elevates him above them; Moreau, more wise, more humane and prudent, has a mode of manœuvring, which foresees and prepares the result with less noise and less blood; and Pichegru, in exhibiting often the boldness of the one and the prudence of the other, indicates a vast conception, and the valuable science of judging rightly of all circumstances, and calculating his own resources and means, as well as those of his enemy; a science which does not give talents, but completes them when they are found united in the same individual. The new manner in which he carried on a war that procured him so many laurels, and his country such great advantages, are evident proofs of this assertion. Having to conduct young, brave, but undisciplined and impatient troops, against men inured to hardships, to patience and regularity; being besides accompanied by a numerous cavalry, he invented that continual war of aggression, that daily, almost hourly war of posts, the flying

artillery, and the war of attacks always repeated, which confounded, fatigued, and rendered the enemy's cavalry almost useless; he *neutralized* the *ensemble*, and the German discipline, by exciting the self-love, employing the activity, gratifying the eagerness, and keeping up the spirit of the young French soldiers, and disregarding the ancient military *routine*, customs of siege, and armies of observation.

After the death of Robespierre, all the other generals began more or less to follow Pichegru's example, and to imitate his tactics; and all the French armies were organized, and had been conducted, according to the plan delivered by him (with perhaps an indiscreet zeal of patriotism) to the Committee of Public Safety during his stay at Paris in the spring of 1795: Moreau, Buonaparte, Massena, and other generals, are therefore, in a great measure, indebted to him for their success, as France is for its victories and conquests*.

After having commanded the most numerous armies, disposed of immense sums of money, and effected the conquest of one of the richest countries in Europe, Pichegru returned to his family as

* Recueil d'Anecdotes, tom. ii. page 33.

as poor as he had left it; and he found it no richer than himself: virtue was the only wealth both of himself and of his family.

Many of those men who, during the revolution, ascended to public notoriety, and became famous or remarkable for their talents, powerful by intrigue, or dreaded for their crimes, either disowned or treated with cruelty their parents, relatives or friends; or enriched them by giving them places, or procuring them opportunities to share in the plunder of their countrymen and of foreigners. The name of Robespierre's own sister was upon his list of proscription, as a *fanatic*. Chenier sent his brother to the scaffold as an aristocrat; Danton imprisoned his own mother; the jacobin Philippe, of the *Rüe de Temple*, cut off the heads of his father and mother, because they went to church. Barras caused two of his first cousins and three other relatives to be shot at Toulon, because they remained there during its occupation by the English. La Reveilliere transported his brother-in-law and four other poor and troublesome members of his family to Cayenne. Dubois Creance commanded the execution of one of his sons, who was shot as an emigrant. The Deputy Duquesnoy caused his own father to be guillotined,

as insulting the national representation by claiming him as his son. Hebert poisoned his first wife, to be enabled to marry a nun; and confined his brother, who was a priest, in the convent of the Carmelites, where he was murdered with other prisoners in September 1792*. Such was the conduct of one class of the revolutionary characters. Rewbel, Merlin, Carnot, Sieyés, and Buonaparte have acted differently, and in a manner as if all persons related to them were born with capacities to be ministers, generals, senators, or ambassadors, and to fill other important offices; while the French national treasury, and those of Switzerland, Italy, Germany, and Holland, procured them means to live according to their high stations. Neither guilt degraded, nor ambition or cupidity dishonoured Pichegru, in his behaviour to those near and dear to him; the ties of blood and of nature were sacred to him; but he did not drag ignorance from obscurity, nor reward consanguinity at the expence of merit; none of his relatives had any place under him, or by his recommendation; and it was his glory to find them again as good, as poor, and as obscure as he had left them. On his coming back among them, they saw in his course

* *Les Annales du Terrorisme*, page 566.

course of life the former companion of their society, the brother, the cousin, the friend, and not the victor nor the hero; they could not, therefore, murmur as if neglected, nor complain as if disregarded; the general partook of their scanty meals as cheerfully, and returned their embraces with the same cordiality, as the adjutant had done; and in their company he was the person who oftenest forgot both what he had done for his country and what his country had done for him, and that a small farm was the only fortune of the saviour of his country, the conqueror of Alsace, Brabant, Flanders and Holland.

Of the friars of the Minims, who had been his early instructors, the greater number had died in misery, or perished in prisons, or on the republican scaffolds. Five were yet alive, but in a situation which made life a burthen to themselves, of use to nobody, and painful to all feeling men who knew them: they were old, decayed, sick, destitute of fortune, and, of course, of friends; and, besides, proscribed as fanatics, because they had not renounced the religion of their ancestors, the gospel of Christ. Pichegru sold his horses and camp equipage, and distributed the amount among them and two of his

poorest

poorest relations, who had courage and humanity enough to harbour the houseless, and to shelter wretchedness from unjust persecution. What is the gift of Buonaparte's kingdom of Etruria, compared with such an action!

When once among his friends, Pichegru desired nothing but quiet and privacy; but his renown was so great, and his character so much respected, that all loyal Frenchmen were indignant at knowing his penury, and the cause of his retirement; and as the French press, although not free, was not quite enslaved, the daily prints were filled with reproaches and accusations against the Directory. As an honourable exile, and more to get rid of a supposed enemy than to silence public clamour, the base and jealous Directors offered Pichegru the embassy to Sweden, a country which was at that time governed by a regent, who had pardoned most of the regicide assassins of his great and good brother, who had changed his alliance against revolutionary France into amicable connexions with the French regicides, and whose political principles, if he had any, were erroneous, if not dangerous to the cause of religion and monarchy.

It was on this occasion that the Director Le Tourneur

Tourneur mentioned Pichegru, as "*a man whom the French nation could present either to its friends or its enemies :*" and that this was the case, and that there is no other person who has figured in the French Revolution of whom this can be said, all Europe knows, as well as citizen Le Tourneur.

Perceiving the real motive of the offer of this embassy, Pichegru declined its acceptance, not, as Barras afterwards chose to say, because he found himself unfit to fill it with honour, but because he would have nothing to do with the Directors, men whose characters differed so widely from his own, and whom he could neither persuade himself to esteem, nor desire to serve. That this was the true reason, appears from the confession of Carnot, one of his greatest and most ungenerous enemies. He says, in one of his writings, "During a conversation of two hours with Pichegru, this general spoke with a *finesse d'esprit*, and with a diplomatical information, which surprised me, knowing him only by his military talents, which do not always suppose an universal genius, highly cultivated by a careful education." This praise is neither flattering nor suspicious, when coming from such a *man* as Carnot; and all persons

who

who have the honour to know General Pichegru, agree in describing his feelings, judgment, political information and intelligence, as being as liberal and extraordinary as his skill as a warrior.

But though he refused any employment under the Directory, yet, when his fellow-citizens chose him, in March 1797, one of their representatives in the Council of Five Hundred, for the department of Jura, it was his duty to accept the appointment, and he followed its dictates.

By the victories of Buonaparte, during 1796, and still more by his false and bombastic descriptions of his battles, the jacobinical Directors hoped to diminish the popularity of Pichegru, and to make the inconsistent Frenchmen forget what they owed to this great general; but in the midst of external successes, the interior of France, though not so violently convulsed, was little less agitated than at the most alarming periods of the Revolution. The Directory possessed neither the confidence nor the respect of the people; their councils were divided by separate views, and by mutual distrust and contempt; while the dread of new revolutions, and the immediate terror of military force, alone appeared to prevent some violent explosion. The

Directors,

Directors, fully sensible of the dangers to which they were exposed, saw with alarm the approach of the period when, by the new constitution, the people must meet in primary assemblies to choose anew a third part of their representatives.

As a measure of security on this occasion, the Directors, by a decree, prohibited all persons inscribed on the list of emigrants, although never having emigrated, from exercising any political rights: and a new effort to prevent the sovereign people from enjoying too great a share of authority, was made by the Directory, in a message to the Council of Five Hundred; wherein, after speaking *mysteriously* of conspirators, whose hopes were not yet annihilated, it insinuated the propriety of denying to all who had refused, or should refuse, to take the oath of hatred to royalty, the right of voting, *considering the people on that occasion as public functionaries.*

As most of the citizens chosen were of the same moderate principles with Pichegru, the elections to vacant seats in the Council of Five Hundred were not satisfactory to government; but the committees of nine, formed to decide on the propriety of the returns, agreed on the eligibility of most of the members.

At the first meeting of the new Council of Five Hundred, Pichegru was called to the chair, as its first president; and his name being signed to two resolutions, the Council of Ancients hailed his nomination with expressions of respect for his military talents and virtues: but his abilities were envied by one part of the Directory, and his moderation suspected by another: his modesty was called a secret ambition; his prudence a concealed vanity; his loyalty hypocrisy, and his popularity conspiracy; and after these liberal suppositions, they determined sooner or later to let him feel the effect of their envy and hatred.

Notwithstanding Buonaparte had about this time concluded the peace of Leoben, and his political and revolutionary principles were known to correspond with those of the jacobin Directors, Pichegru's popularity increased, and he became and was regarded as the chief hope of all moderate men, not only in the Council of Five Hundred, but in the armies, and all over France. The distraction of the executive government was therefore at the highest pitch: the new elections, by giving seats to some men of greater abilities than had before been chosen, and of characters comparatively unblemished, afford-

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ed foundation to a strong and popular opposition, which justly censured public proceedings with a freedom that upstart tyranny could ill endure, and with a force which made oppression writhe in anguish, and meditate bloody revenge.

This new opposition tended to open the eyes of all Frenchmen, and to convince them that frauds, ignorance, imprudence, negligence, folly, and peculation, reigned in all the offices under the Directory, and that particularly in the finances there existed neither order, foresight, nor economy, that the public affairs were therefore in endless confusion; and it was proved that they had obtained the disposal of ninety-seven millions of livres (about 4,300,000*l.*), besides at least twenty millions received in contributions, under pretence *that they would thus be enabled to make peace:* but no peace was thought of *.

In the military committee, of which Pichegru was a member, it was discovered that the army list contained *fifty thousand men to be paid, clothed, and accoutred, more than had ever been really enrolled;* and the military hospital had charged for patients *who had never entered their walls, or who had*

* See Le Rapport du Citoyen Gilbert Desmorliers, le 25 Prairial, an v.

had long been dead: and this, said Dupont de Nemours, who was stating the facts, *is only a corner lifted up of the curtain which conceals these enormities.* On the thriftless expenditure he observed, that while large sums were issued for the opera, the conservatory of music, the riding-schools at Versailles, and lavished on manufactories of arms no longer wanting, and of buildings of mere ornament, the Directory had sent to the councils an alarming message on the state of the hospitals, affirming, *that out of three hundred and fifty foundlings, three hundred had died for want of the necessaries of life*.*

These and other debates produced no good effect, however, except affording information concerning the economical, moral, and political conduct of the *virtuous* rulers of a modern and fashionable republic.

Religion also occupied a conspicuous share in the deliberations of the Logislative Bodies; but no law founded on just, wise, or honest, principles, was adopted. The horrors experienced by catholic priests during the reign of terror, were exchanged only for a more tranquil, though not

* See Le Rapport du Citoyen Dupont de Nemours, Messidor an v.

not less systematic persecution, under the system of philosophy. None of the laws which imposed oaths and declarations on professors of all persuasions, even on those whose tenets did not allow them to take an oath, were repealed; but, instead of drowning and the guillotine, the penalties of seclusion and deportation were applied.

Besides these domestic occurrences, the conduct of the French government towards neutral nations was loudly censured by Pichegru and his party: the injustice, rapacity, and violence which had irritated the people of America, and the conduct of Buonaparte toward the *neutral* republics of Venice and Genoa, were exposed by them to severe animadversion.

These spirited contests formed part of a system of hostilities, in which it became obvious that the government must either adhere to the constitution, make some just sacrifices of its ambition to its safety, or fall. The directors hated each other, but Barras, Rewbel, and La Reveilliere, were united by guilt and by fear; while Carnot and Barthelemy, concurring perhaps in nothing but a desire of peace, opposed the blood-thirsty, disorganizing, and tyrannical spirit of their colleagues. The opposition of Pichegru's party in

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the Council of Five Hundred, though generally successful, was not combined by any common principle, except hatred and contempt for the triumvirate: honour, ability, and popular favour was theirs; but some of them were infected with the desire of shewing their rhetoric by declaiming in the tribune; while their adversaries, more expert in their conduct of revolutions, were preparing to derive the utmost advantage from the chief resources, the furious jacobins and the armies.

Reports of counter-revolutionary projects were circulated; and on the 20th of July the official journal, or government gazette, then called *Le Redacteur*, issued a virulent invective against the Council of Five Hundred, implicating them as conspirators. This audacious publication occasioned a message to the Directory; but it was answered by an impudent and laconic observation, that no existing law applied to the case.

On the same day, the 20th of July, Pichegru made a long and able report on the necessity of a re-organization of the national guard, and on the manner of forming this organization so as to ensure the safety of the state, without giving too much trouble to the citizens of this guard, *who alone in France could be depended upon for assistance*

sistance to oppose the daily usurpations of the executive power. This and some other vigorous proposals and plans of the Council of Five Hundred, caused the Directory to take measures as for their own protection; they had almost entirely changed the ministry, and, foreseeing that an opposition, headed by Pichegru, Willot, and other experienced generals, would not easily be conquered, were preparing to violate the constitution, by drawing a large military force round Paris. This intention was not kept sufficiently secret to prevent the circulation of reports; and surmise was changed to certainty, when Aubry, in the name of the Committee of Inspectors of the Hall, declared that four regiments of chasseurs, with part of the staff of the Army of the Sambre and the Meuse, were marching for Ferté-alois, a village about seven leagues from Paris, *while the constitution limited their approach to twelve leagues.* On the 26th of July Pichegru pronounced a most eloquent speech on the same subject, in which he clearly proved "*the plots of the Directory, its violation of the constitution, and its intention again to introduce the revolutionary government and the reign of terror; to exchange the constitutional code for the anarchical and bloody tyranny of the jacobins.*"

If the discovery of their projects was calculated to alarm the conspiring majority of the Directory, the feeble conduct of many of their opponents restored their courage. Instead of acting as Pichegru desired, and of proceeding with revolutionary vigour, such as they were sure would be used by the Directors, they formed decrees for abolishing two clubs which had been opened under the name of constitutional circles, and dispatched a message to ascertain the age of Barras *; they decreed, besides, a law for establishing on all public roads, at a certain distance from Paris, columns inscribed with articles from the constitution, and an order forbidding the advance of armies beyond them: a most ridiculous, feeble, and shallow attempt, in a period so critical†. Timidity, hesitation, variety of views, and want of mutual confidence, prevented the adoption of the only mode of conduct, *the impeachment of some of the Directors*, which could, in

* By the Constitution, a Director should be above forty years of age; Barras was supposed to be only thirty-eight.

† One division of troops, *to shew their great respect for the laws and for the constitution of their country*, before they began their march towards Paris, dug up the constitutional column which they were forbidden to pass, put it upon a waggon, carried it before them, and respectfully followed, *without passing it*, until they *were at the gates of* Paris !!!

in the present state of affairs, tend to the advantage of opposition, and save France from republican oppression.

The Directory relied on the attachment of the army, and were highly gratified by the conduct of the jacobin Buonaparte. Divisions of the army under his command in Italy, contrary to the constitution, sent addresses to the troops of the interior, most of which were distinguished for violence; but particularly one from the division under Augereau, which rivalled in virulence, abuse, and threats, the productions of the most licentious days of the Revolution. The atrocity of these proceedings, so repugnant to the constitution, and to every principle of social order, was rendered complete by an address from the staff of Buonaparte's army, avowing all the sentiments contained in the various missives already circulated, threatening death to those who should shew themselves royalists, a term which they had previously shewn they meant to apply to all the opponents of the Directory, and of their friends the regicide jacobins.

While the Legislative Body had such an incontestible evidence of the criminal intentions of the three Directors, a message was received from the Executive Government, in which some facts

were denied, others palliated, and accusations of conspiracy retorted in a vague and insidious manner upon some members of the two councils. This message was by both councils referred to a committee; and on the 20th of August, in the Council of Ancients, the Report was made by Troncon Ducoudray, who was selected for this task on account of his acknowledged moderation and talents. He gave a full detail of the conduct of the Directory and the army, shewing, in many instances, their inconsistency with the letter and spirit of the constitution, though he was not hasty in imputing evil intentions. Thibaudeau, on the same day, in the Council of Five Hundred, made a report equally argumentative, though more warm, and concluded by recommending two laws; one charging the public accuser to prosecute all plots, machinations, and, generally, all offences against the Legislative Body, the Executive Directory, and each of their component members; the other, declaring penalties against the military who should deliberate as a body, or sign addresses collectively.

Before any decision could take place with respect to these propositions, the three Directors had resolved to overturn, by force, all the impediments

diments raised by the constitution against arbitrary power. Hoche was first fixed on to carry the design of the Directory into execution; but, they having been obliged to disavow some of his proceedings, he had retired, full of rage and disappointment, to his army; while the confidence intended him was transferred to Augereau, whom Buonaparte had sent to Paris from the Army of Italy*. Besides the regular troops at the disposal of this general, great numbers of jacobins and terrorists, who had served Robespierre and his faction, were in Paris, soliciting employ or promotion, and were encouraged to remain in the city, although motions had been made in the Council of Five hundred for their removal.

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* Augereau, the son of a fruit-woman at Paris, has served most of the powers of Europe as a common soldier, and has been flogged in Austria and Prussia for desertion. He was a fencing-master at Neuchatel, in Switzerland, in 1789, where he robbed a watchmaker, Courvoisier, of a horse and two watches, and then entered as a soldier in the Neapolitan service, where he gave lessons as a fencing-master; he again deserted, and became first a French spy, and afterwards a French general. At Verona and Venice he plundered upwards of six millions of livres: he is, in private, remarkable for his presumption and vanity; his brave deportment and other commanders of their merit, and the ostentatious ornaments of his person with rings and jewels, form a ridiculous contrast with his ignorance in conversation, and the gross vulgarity of his manners. *Recueil d'Anecdotes*, page 362.

It appears almost inconceivable, that, with so many evidences of a conspiracy against them, and so many proofs of the determination of the triumvirate not to regard the restrictions of the constitution, Pichegru and the other leading men in opposition should not be bound by some common tie, or animated by some general spirit. But the fact is, that in troublesome times, courage, frankness, patriotism, and talents, are seldom sufficient to defeat the plots of intriguers. Pichegru was surrounded by orators, who did not think of any thing but making brilliant speeches in the tribune, rounding periods, and framing motions, without any spirit to act with vigour, or judgment enough to see the absolute necessity of doing so. Notwithstanding all his endeavours he could not inspire the timorous with valour, the idle with activity, and unite the opinion of twenty different societies and parties, who constituted the opposition of which he was regarded as the chief: he was unable to subdue the circumspection of some, the scruples of others, and the dread, the cowardice of most of them; or to prevent the crimes of the directorial faction by being beforehand in the attack, and inflicting on its guilty members a well-deserved punishment.

Pichegru

Pichegru had not been six weeks a member of the Council of Five Hundred, before he formed a just opinion of the persons who pretended to share his sentiments, and to be led by his opinions; he therefore always doubted of success, and might, as well as many other of his colleagues, have escaped proscription by retirement; but he had been the first to propose the organization of the national guards; and although many thousands of the Parisians had made him offers and promises to resist the attempts of the Directory, he knew too well those cowardly citizens, not to foresee that, in the moment of danger, not one would stir or interfere; he thought it, however, his duty to remain on the spot, and to be the martyr of his loyalty, rather than to give his enemies and calumniators reason to say that he had deserted men who required nothing but a chief to become victorious.

While, therefore, his and their adversaries were drawing round him and them the net of destruction, the sitting of the two councils, on the 3d of September, terminated in perfect tranquillity; and in the Council of Five Hundred, the motion on Thibaudeau's report was adjourned to the next day, a day in which the existing le-

gislature was doomed to undergo a total alteration in its constitution and members. Pichegru and many others of the opposition party, made sensible by him of the perils which awaited them, had proposed bringing forward a decree of accusation against the three Directors; whilst others, judging the period too far advanced for such a measure, proposed marching to the directorial palace, arresting or putting them to death, and then publishing to the people of France a statement of their motives; but these proceedings of vigour were over-ruled by the timid, the treacherous, and the indolent.

In the nights of the 3d and 4th of September, the conspiring Directors threw off the mask of patriotism for that of rebellion, and began to effect another revolution, by ordering two of their colleagues, Carnot and Barthelemy, to be taken into custody; the first, however, secured his retreat, but the other was arrested by Barras himself. Having thus partially executed the first portion of their project, Barras, Rewbel, and La Reveilliere*, the triumvirate, proceeded to other operations. A committee, called inspectors,

* Barras was before the Revolution an infamous degraded nobleman; he voted for the death of his king, and with the assistance of

spectors, appointed to prevent the approach of troops to the place of the sitting of the Councils, and to direct their internal police, was composed of General Pichegru, Vaublanc, Thibaudeau, Emery, and Dalarue*, who were divided in opinion respecting the conspiracy, till General Ramel, commander of the Legislative Body guard, announced an order that he had received at one o'clock in the morning, to attend the Minister

of Buonaparte, executed *en masse* thousands of his countrymen at Toulon and at Paris. Rewbel, formerly an attorney, another regicide, has since the Revolution plundered millions; and, as a Director, caused thousands to be shot or transported. La Reveilliere Lepaux, a deformed stigmatic, formerly an intriguer under the appellation of a man of letters, disbelieved the existence of a God, and passed his life in tormenting mankind and the consciences of christians, by pretending to be the pope of the theophilanthropists, or revolutionary philosophers. These three vile intriguers defeated a general who had defeated the united forces of Austria, England, Prussia, Hanover, Holland, and Hessia. So little does it depend upon talents or virtue to be victorious in plots and revolutions!

* Of the five Inspectors, Pichegru and Delarue were for vigorous measures; Vaublanc and Thibaudeau were, from cowardice, for temporizing proceedings; and Emery was the spy of the Directory, who betrayed all the discussions of his colleagues, and was therefore, with Thibaudeau, whose conduct was suspicious to many, excepted from deportation; while Pichegru, Delarue, and Vaublanc, were treated with all possible indignity and cruelty, both in the Temple and on their way to Cayenne.

Minister at War, and that several columns of troops were entering the city. He was a few hours afterwards summoned, in the name of the Directory, to allow fifteen hundred soldiers to pass the Pont Tournant (the entrance to the Thuillerie gardens from the place of Louis XV.); but he bravely refused, though assured that his corps of eight hundred grenadiers was surrounded by twelve thousand men, with four pieces of cannon. In this emergency he sent to Lafond-Ladebat and Simeon, the presidents of the two Councils, for instructions, and gave notice of what was passing to several members. Pichegru had already ascertained that the halls were completely invested, and Ramel was consulting with the Committee of Inspectors, when news arrived that the Pont Tournant was forced, the garden filled with troops, and a battery forming to bear on the hall of the Council of Ancients. The post of the Council of Five Hundred, defended by a brave lieutenant named Blot, alone remained, and Ramel had vainly solicited leave to call out the reserve of grenadiers, and attempt repelling force by force; when the troops of the Directory, headed by Augereau, rushed in, and, after a considerable struggle, secured all the Inspectors, and several other members

bers of the Councils who had come to share their deliberations.

A considerable number of members of both Councils, having assembled at private houses, sallied forth in their scarfs, and attempted to gain the entrance of their own halls, but were thrice repulsed by the military; while the minority of each legislative body met at a playhouse in the neighbourhood of the Directory, called Odeon, and in the amphitheatre of the medical college, and made laws suited to the views of the triumvirate.

This party had, previous to the explosion of their mines, prepared proclamations to deceive the people of Paris, declaring the existence of a plot to re-establish royalty; and in the evening of the same day, the mock assembly at the Odeon received a message from the Directory, equally false and absurd with the proclamations in the morning, affirming the halls of the councils to have been fixed on as the scene of a conspiracy to restore royalty, and that Pichegru, in a correspondence with the Prince de Condé, had formed a plot which would have been executed, but that the Prince himself refused to afford his sanction. These accusations were supported by a pretended correspondence said to be inter-

cepted (but which, from the strongest internal evidence, appeared to be forged), and some absurd extorted confessions of Duverne de Presle, one of the royalist conspirators arrested at the commencement of the year *. Reports were then presented by several members, who read draughts of law, annulling the elections in forty-nine departments, and ordering the deportation of Generals Pichegru and Willot, with thirty-eight other members of the Council of Five Hundred, and eleven of the Council of Ancients, and the Directors Carnot and Barthelemy; with a number of other citizens, generals, ministers, priests, and editors of newspapers. The fate of all these victims, condemned without a trial, was rendered additionally cruel by the sequestration of their property, till accounts should be received of their arrival at the place of deportation: the remainder of the Council of Five Hundred passed this sentence without hesitation, in which that of the Ancients concurred; while they boasted of this proceeding as an act of mercy, though it pre-

* Pichegru was at the same time accused and denounced by Moreau and Buonaparte, the former being the dupe of the latter; who, as long as Pichegru remained in France, could have no hope usurp power over Frenchmen; but neither of them produced a *line of Pichegru's* hand-writing.

prevented the unjudged prisoners from procuring even the most common necessaries for their comfort and accommodation in the voyage which they were afterwards doomed to make. Laws of the greatest severity were enacted against emigrants and their relations; a new oath was imposed, of hatred to royalty and anarchy, and attachment and fidelity to the Republic and constitution of the year three, a constitution which they at the same time violated in the most scandalous manner. All journals, periodical papers, and the presses for printing them, were put under the inspection of the police: the late laws, decreed according to the motion of Pichegru, for re-organizing the national guard, were abrogated, and the Directory was invested with the power of declaring any commune in a state of siege. These, and some other regulations equally tyrannical and vengeful, gave to the executive power a complete dictatorial authority, and terminated the glimmering prospect, which some still affected to view, of liberty restored by the exertions of the French philosophers*.

Pichegru

* The Author was at Paris when this revolution was effected; and what he then observed, confirmed his opinion of the base and *cowardly character of the* Parisians. The 3d of September was a Sunday:

Pichegru and the other arrested Deputies had been conducted to the Temple bastile, and during the ensuing days the private vengeance of the Directors added considerable numbers to the list of sacrifices: their tool, the infamous Augereau, was well adapted to carry into execution their orders of cruelty, by himself, or by instruments worthy of him. He had appointed General Dutertre commandant of the Temple, and of the escort destined to accompany the imprisoned Deputies to their place of embarkation. This *republican* general had, a month before, come out of the gallies at Toulon, where he had been confined under sentence of a court martial, for robbery, assassination, and setting fire to houses, in La Vendee*.

At two in the morning of the 8th of September, Pichegru, and the other proscribed persons were removed from the Temple in vehicles placed upon four-wheeled waggons, nearly resembling

Sunday; and the Tivoli, and all other public places, were crowded with elegant and fashionable people, who all cursed the Directory, and praised the two Councils. In the night the revolution took place; and the next day all the gardens, squares, and streets, were filled with the same Parisians, dressed as sans-culottes, and crying out every where, "Long live the Directory! Down with the Councils!"

* *Ramel's Narrative*, page 12.

sembling gun-carriages. They were a kind of cage, secured on all sides with bars of iron breast high, nearly resembling such as are used in England for the conveyance of wild beasts; and every shake or jolt bruised them in a most terrible manner: a padlock fastened the iron grating by which they entered; they had neither time nor means to make the slightest preparation for their removal. The triumvirate, anxious to enjoy the brutal and cowardly pleasuse of contemplating their fallen adversaries, caused the cars to pass before their palace of Luxemburgh, where the walls, already rendered by its inhabitants the inclosure of every imaginable crime, re-echoed with the mirthful plaudits of a ruffian band, whose savage exultation would have disgraced the untutored aborigines of America.

During the journey from Paris to Rochefort, there were no sufferings or indignities which Pichegru and his companions in misfortune were not obliged to endure, and no danger to which they were not exposed: they were hooted at, cursed, threatened, and covered with mud, by the jacobins, at every place they passed or halted at: water was their only drink, and black bread their only food, during the day, and

a prison, a dungeon, or the damp pavement in some deserted church, their place of repose at night. The officers under Dutertre, Adjutant general Colin, and his second, Guillet, were, in September 1792, among the Septembrisers, or assassins of the prisoners at Paris, and owed to it their military rank. At Blois they had prepared the same destruction for the departed Deputies, had not the courage and humanity of a municipal officer prevented it; but, enraged at their disappointment, they lodged him the same night among the galley-slaves, in irons, at Tour, in Tourain. At Chatelherault, Dutertre ordered them to be shut up in so infectious a dungeon, that Pichegru and several others swooned; and they would all have been stifled, had not the door, at which sentinels were placed to watch them closely, been speedily opened. Even Pichegru, though still young, and hardened by the fatigues of war, suffered so much from the badness of the roads, and the jolts of the waggons, that he demanded as a favour to walk on foot in the midst of the escort; but he was refused with brutality: for "when once the prisoners had entered the carriages, or rather the cages in the morning, and the iron grating was locked, they were not opened again till night, though

though illness or natural wants ever so much required it." Such were the orders of Dutertre.

At last, on the 21st of September, they arrived at Rochefort, where the most ill-omened presages surrounded them. The soldiers composing the garrison of this city lined the hedges upon the road; and a crowd of sailors made the air re-echo with the ill-boding cry of—"*To the water, to the water! Drown them, drown them!!!*" Here they were embarked on board a small brig, and by some ill-looking soldiers rudely forced down between decks, pushed and crowded toward the forecastle, while they were nearly suffocated with the smoke of the kitchen.

They were now suffering extremely from hunger and thirst; for they had neither eaten nor drank during the thirty-six preceding hours. A pail of water was let down in the midst of them, and a couple of the crew's loaves were thrown down beside it, with a gesture of the utmost contempt. They were, however, unable to eat, on account of the smoke, and their very uneasy situation. In the meanwhile, the sentinels, who pressed them more and more, held the most horrid language. Pichegru having resented the *insolence of one* who was in the midst of them,

latter replied to the general, "*Thou hadst better be silent, for thou are not yet out of our power.*" This was a boy of fifteen or sixteen years of age.

They had every reason to believe that the place of their deportation was no other than the bed of the river Charante, where they were now at anchor, and that they were actually on board one of those horrid instruments of execution, *a vessel with a trap-door*, invented to quench the thirst of *republican* tyrants for human blood, and to murder in the dark, as rapidly as possible, as many victims as their caprice could desire: and during one, to them, dreadful night, they were listening in anxious suspense, and silent horror and resignation, constantly expecting the fatal moment to arrive. At last they were sent on board a cutter, where Pichegru and three others were separated from their companions by the captain, who himself ordered them to go down into the boatswain's store-room, saying, "As for you four gentlemen, this is to be your lodging:" and thus they remained for fifty-two days, in the profoundest darkness, in that horrid dungeon, infected by the exhalations of the hold, and by the cables, without hammocks or covering, or any thing on which to lay their heads, though unable

able to hold themselves upright. At noon every day a biscuit was brought to each; and a bucket full of gourgones, or large beans boiled, filled with vermin, filth, and hair, and without any seasoning, was set down for them. This was their daily allowance, and the only food that was given them during the whole voyage.

The detachments which had been put on board the cutter to guard them, consisted of men selected from among the revolutionary bands of the Committee of Nantes, so famous in the annals of terror for the massacres and drownings of the priests who were sentenced to deportation. They were heard to relate to each other their various and infamous exploits. One boasted of having, during a march, assassinated his captain by stabbing him in the back, and thrown him into a ditch, because he suspected him of aristocracy; another coolly enumerated how many priests he had drowned in the Loire; a third explained to his comrades how the drownings were performed, and mimicked the grimaces of the unfortunate wretches at the moment of submersion: several of them boasted of having killed with their oars those who, after passing through the trap-door in the drowning vessels, endeavour- to save t y swimming; and if these

monsters

monsters suspended for a moment their horrid conversation, it was only to sing disgusting songs. They chose the time of their prisoners resting, to place themselves by the hatchway, and howl out their obscenities, their blasphemies, and their songs of cannibals.

Of those transported, Pichegru was the only one who was not sea-sick; but he suffered so much the more from hunger. It produced paroxysms of rage, and the coarse food, which he ate in too small quantities, only excited his ravenous appetite. One day the hunger and impatience of the general furnished the captain of the cutter, La Porte, with a pretext to add to the vexations which he inflicted on the four prisoners of the store-room. The cabin-boy who waited on them persisted, notwithstanding their prayers and menaces, in always bringing them their bucket of beans so filthy, that they could not touch them: Pichegru therefore pushed the boy once, when he brought a bucket almost covered with hairs. The boy fell into the bucket, and, being scalded, cried aloud, and called for help. Pichegru accused himself of the fact; but his fellow-prisoners would not allow that he alone was culpable, and the captain ordered *them all four to be put in irons*, in which condition

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they suffered severely for six days; nor was the captain then disposed to relieve them, had not fear, from the murmurs of some of the sailors, who compassionated the fate of their four enchained fellow-citizens, *of whom three had been republican generals*, compelled him to that measure.

At length they landed in Cayenne, and hoped, having escaped from the presence of their tyrants, to range there at liberty; but they were mistaken: wherever a French republican commands, tyranny and oppression are felt, and their companions, wretchedness and misery, must be expected. Instead of enjoying even the shadow of liberty in the deserts of this unhealthy country, they were sent to the fort of Sinamary, on the pestilential banks of the river of that name. Even in this miserable abode, their persecutors harassed them by a refinement of cruelty; they were closely confined in dungeons used as prisons for fugitive negroes and criminals, containing neither beds, tables, nor chairs, nor any one piece of furniture. No European, perhaps, had ever before been thrown into such a den, in such a climate, there to be given as a prey to scorpions, centipedes, gnats, musquitos, and many other species of insects, equally numerous,

merous, dangerous, and disgusting! they were not even secure from serpents, which frequently crept into the fort. Pichegru found one of an uncommon size, which he killed: it was thicker than his arm, and lay concealed in the folds of his cloak, which served him for a pillow in his hammock. They were, besides, totally destitute of clothes, linen, and money, and their victuals were worse than those given to the negroes.

Pichegru still retained his accustomed firmness, and shewed that confidence, that presentiment, as it were, of future amelioration, which naturally communicates itself to others. His principal occupation was inspiring his fellow-sufferers with courage and constancy; his only amusement was learning English. He preserved, amidst all his pursuits, his military tone and manners, by which he endeavoured to overcome the tedious monotony of imprisonment. He was often singing, especially such fragments as were applicable to his situation; not plaintive or romantic effusions, but such as abounded in the energy of vehement expression and awakened military ardour. He supported with fortitude, and without complaint, his present evils, and contemplated the vile instrument of his misfortunes

with

with contempt. The only day that he seemed afflicted was, when an American vessel brought news "that the usurpation over his country was completed, all good citizens oppressed, the revolutionary laws rigorously enforced, and the tribunals of blood re-established under the name of Military Commissions." He then deplored, with the other prisoners, the fate of their wretched and degraded country. If an honest man, struggling with misfortunes, be the noblest work of God, a hero and a patriot in fetters is an angel upon earth.

After eight months endurance of all the sufferings of captivity and want, of insult and torments, Pichegru, with seven other prisoners, at last escaped from his oppressors, the dangers of the waves and the horrors of famine; having at the moment when he was arrested, and during the voyage to his place of deportation and his imprisonment at Cayenne, conducted himself with that noble fortitude which elevates misfortune, and commands respect even from republican despots. He first landed in the Dutch colony of Surinam, and afterwards, on the 28th of September, 1798, disembarked in England; where royalty received the republican exile, generosity rewarded

rewarded talents, and hospitality soothed misfortunes*.

It is hoped, that the particulars of Pichegru proscribed, will be to loyal men equally interesting with those of Pichegru victorious; as they truly paint the cruelties of republican rulers, the ingratitude of republican citizens, and the injustice of republican governments: they exhibit the immoral, barbarous, and infamous conduct of most men, of inferiors, as well as of superiors, who have engaged or are employed in keeping up the cause of the French rebellion; and if it has surprised foreigners, that some Frenchmen, in the name of liberty, have usurped power to become tyrants, it is no less astonishing, that those upstart tyrants have found slaves base enough to obey their dictates, and cruel enough to execute, and often to aggravate, their commands; and that the same *great* nation contains such a number of various, vicious, and vile men, that Robespierre's guillotine, the Directorial

* The particular facts mentioned concerning the revolution of the 4th of September, 1797, and Pichegru's deportation, are derived from Dictionnaire Biographique, Carnot's Reply, Job Aime's Narrative, Secret Anecdotes of the 18th Fructidor by De la Rüe, Ramel's Narrative, and Recueil d'Anecdotes.

rectorial deportation, and the Consular shooting and poisoning, have never wanted fit subjects to carry into effect their inhuman and merciless decrees.

Of Pichegru's talents as a general, neither Buonaparte nor his military sycophants have dared to throw out any doubts; of his principles as a politician, nothing is known but what does honour to the commander as well as to the senator, and inspires admiration of the patriot. The conquest of Alsace, Brabant, Flanders, and Holland, convince every body of the former; while vague accusations, invented by envy or forged by jealousy, without proofs as well as without facts, are unable to diminish known patriotism and irreproachable opinions; and whatever calumny or affliction have proclaimed, exaggeration propagated, treason discovered, or fear disclosed, all moderate and just men, even in France, acknowledge that Pichegru is really and more sincerely attached to the honour and happiness of his country, than Buonaparte, or any other republican ruler or general; and though he does not agree with the Corsican, and approve of an unjust and perhaps impolitic aggrandizement, at the expence of good faith and of the tranquillity of Europe, his moral and political notions, "that

it is not the extent of a country, or the number of its inhabitants, which constitute the greatness and prosperity of a nation," has as many, if not more, adherents, than the Machiavelism and extravagant ambition of his unprincipled antagonist; and all loyal Frenchmen prefer, with Pichegru, "to enjoy liberty with twenty millions of freemen, than, under the artificial and oppressive grandeur of an adventurer, to suffer bondage with thirty millions of slaves."

In a work attributed to a person who was not a friend, or partial to Pichegru, is the following sentence: "Pichegru's only occupation is his country; and he is always disposed to answer those who speak to him in favour of such men, or of such a faction,—*Promote the happiness of France, and you may depend upon me as one of your party.*" This was written some few days before the 4th of September, 1797, when Buonaparte denounced, Barras and the Directory condemned, and Frenchmen transported, Pichegru, as a traitor and conspirator*.

Egotism is the chief passion of French republicans; it has caused them to commit murders, and

* Secret Anecdotes of the 18th Fructidor, by De la Rüe, and Recueil d'Anecdotes.

and to issue proscriptions; to plunder and enslave France and Europe; to sacrifice parents, relatives, and friends; to betray and butcher their king; to desert and deny their God; to adore Marat, to worship Robespierre, to praise Barras, and to prostrate themselves before Buonaparte. According to this true definition of Gallic republicanism, Pichegru is certainly no republican; and he had besides the honour and courage to continue poor in a commonwealth, where, among rapacious upstarts, it was suspicious and ridiculous, a folly and a crime, not to be rich.

Pichegru is stout, athletic, near six feet high, and of a strong constitution, well fitted by nature to encounter and endure the fatigues of war. Upon a first interview, there is something severe about him; but his austerity wears off after a little intercourse, and he soon inspires the greatest confidence. His politeness is without affectation, and not a formal etiquette, often signifying nothing but duplicity and imposture. He is frankly condescending, liberally obliging, and naturally good and benevolent; but he possesses not the agreeable littleness and the trifling meanness which make the fortune of republican courtiers as much *and as often as those of* a monarch. His moral

character is excellent: frank, candid, humane, and polite, cordial to his friends, and pleasing to his acquaintance. To his officers he was always complaisant; and with his soldiers strict, but just and generous. With a sanguine disposition, he is cool and deliberate in his conduct; and the extent and versatility of his talents have obtained the same approbation and success in the senate as in the field.

There are some striking resemblances between Pichegru and Moreau, two republican generals as much above the petty Buonaparte by their external form and internal worth, as by their talents and merit: they are both about the same age, and of the same size; and both have natural genius and a cultivated education; but their characters, without being quite opposite, are very different. Moreau is more insinuating, his manners more agreeable, and his person more graceful. Nobody is an hour in Pichegru's company without placing confidence in him, and judging him to be a man of honour, of probity, and of generosity; at first sight, Moreau infuses the same sentiments: every day's intercourse with Pichegru increases our esteem for him; with Moreau it does not augment; it does not even always continue the same. If exception be made

made of the Corsican courtiers and satellites, Pichegru is universally honoured and beloved in France: Moreau's admirers are more numerous than those of Buonaparte, but not so numerous as those of Pichegru.

In 1796, when Buonaparte was promoted to the command of the Army of the Alps, this army, as well as those commanded by Moreau on the Upper Rhine, and by Jourdan on the Lower Rhine, consisted chiefly of officers instructed, and soldiers disciplined by Pichegru: that Buonaparte, with such an army, accustomed to success, and elevated by victory, should defeat the less numerous, dispirited, divided, and betrayed Austrians and Sardinians, was not surprising; but that the general, to whom all those advantages might be ascribed, should experience from the base jealousy of the base Buonaparte, envy, hatred, and persecution, instead of praise, amity, and gratitude, is surprising, even in the abominable annals of the French rebellion. Buonaparte's *extorted addresses* from this very army, and his *forged accusations*, were the *only facts* which the infamous Barras and his accomplices condescended to publish in vindication of their revolutionary proscription of Pichegru; and these are the nominal reasons why Buonaparte still re-

tains Pichegru upon *the list of the true legion of honour; the list of the emigrants**.

Notwithstanding what Buonaparte has done to injure Pichegru, and to undermine his reputation, he is yet regretted and beloved by the French army, and pitied, praised, and esteemed by the French nation, as the *only* republican general who has not sullied his victories either by rapine or murder, by plunder or confiscations. These are unpardonable crimes in the opinion of the guilty Corsican, who fears the unfortunate Pichegru in exile, more than the fortunate Moreau in the neighbourhood of his usurped throne; because Buonaparte knows, that esteem founded upon merit, is more to be apprehended than fortune founded upon chance; he knows that even the *pure* Moreau has hurt his credit, by falsely denouncing his friend and benefactor Pichegru, to whom he was indebted for his first military instruction and promotion, and by continuing to serve the republican assassins of his loyal father.

When, in 1794, Pichegru commanded the army

* A friend of France, and of Pichegru, asked Buonaparte, in May 1802, to recal Pichegru; and received for answer, "France is not large enough to contain us both."—Les Nouvelles à la Main, Prairial, an x. No. viii.

Army of the North, and the National Convention ordered no quarter to be given to Englishmen, at the risk of his own life Pichegru spared the lives of Britons. The murder of the Turkish prisoners at Jaffa in 1799, tells the world how Buonaparte would have acted with Englishmen in 1794. All the conquests of Pichegru did not cost the lives of so many Frenchmen as Buonaparte's two battles of Lodi and Arcole. Pichegru was the father and friend of his soldiers; Buonaparte is their oppressor, destroyer, and poisoner: Pichegru was more careful of the life of a soldier than of his own; Buonaparte willingly sacrifices all the soldiers in France to advance his outrageous ambition: Pichegru served his countrymen from the love of his country; the Corsican Buonaparte has served France to be enabled to enslave Frenchmen: Pichegru owed his promotion to his own merit; Buonaparte to his own crimes and to the intrigues of Barras: to the victories of Pichegru France is indebted for Brabant, Flanders, and the new provinces on this side of the Rhine; to Buonaparte, or rather to his intrigues and breach of treaties, France owes Piedmont, and *nothing* but Piedmont: poverty and proscription are the rewards of the great nation for Pichegru's virtue and services.

with an usurped throne and an unlimited power has Buonaparte recompensed himself, his plots and crimes, at the expence of the honour and freedom of the great nation: to all good and virtuous men, however, the honourable exile of Pichegru is preferable to the guilty usurpation of Buonaparte. In a few words, between Pichegru and Buonaparte every thing is opposite; nothing is common between them; the distance is as great as between virtue and vice.

Buonaparte falsely accuses Pichegru of having carried arms against his own country; whereas Pichegru has not even carried arms against *the foreigner* tyrannizing over his countrymen: Buonaparte says that Pichegru is a royalist; *Pichegru loves his country and mankind, and wishes therefore rather for a monarchy under a legal sovereign, than a monarchical republic and republican tyranny under a Corsican usurper.*

If brilliant talents, employed bravely, nobly, and successfully; if modesty in prosperity, and fortitude in adversity; if a genuine love of liberty, a real spirit of patriotism, a tender affection for his kindred and his countrymen, a regard for their lives, a solicitude for their safety, and a feeling which advances from private to public life, until it expands into universal philanthropy,

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constitute true greatness, General Pichegru is a great man *.

We have been favoured with the following curious communication by Dr. Blane. Among several interesting confessions, and important remarks, the great and unfortunate Pichegru's acknowledgment, that his soldiers bore the hardships of a singularly severe campaign, not from any political enthusiasm, but from un esprit de coquinage *(which, among other explanations, must doubtless include the love of plunder), throws a new light over those revolutionary heroes, who have received a tribute of applause they never merited, from a wise and industrious nation. Every military man who is not actuated by a constitutional principle, is not the defender, but the most dangerous enemy of his country.*

SUBSTANCE

* Since the above was written, Pichegru has been murdered in a French dungeon; and his murderer, Buonaparte, has made his corpse one of the steps on which to ascend the Imperial throne. When these Sketches were printing, every thing in France remained yet unsettled; the pretended conspirators inculpated with Pichegru were not tried; and Buonaparte, though proclaimed in France, was acknowledged by no foreign sovereign in his imperial dignity. Nothing can therefore be here added, or changed, in consequence of the late event; their maturity is still distant

SUBSTANCE OF SOME CONVERSATIONS WHICH I HELD WITH GENERAL PICHEGRU, OCTOBER 1798, DURING HIS RECOVERY FROM AN ILLNESS CONTRACTED CHIEFLY DURING THE HARDSHIPS HE UNDERWENT IN MAKING HIS ESCAPE FROM CAYENNE.

In speaking of the French Revolution, he said the two first years of it were very seducing to well-intentioned people. I answered, that we found it so seducing at that time, that we, in general, wished well to it, and that republican principles gained much ground among us: that we had been prevented from running the like wild career, by having a wise, firm, and temperate ministry, a moral and religious Sovereign, and were finally converted to monarchy by two great political apostles, Robespierre with the terrors of his guillotine, and Edmund Burke with the thunders of his eloquence. He said both these were very persuasive, particularly the former (with whose works he was best acquainted), by the disgrace which he and others brought upon the cause, and the universal disgust they produced by their profligacy and atrocity.

He said that the great error of himself, and others,

others, consisted in assuming* men to be better than they really were; that neither the French nation, nor perhaps any other great nation, had a sufficient measure of virtue for a republican government, which still appeared to him the best, if men were perfect; but, checking himself, he added, that, if they were perfect, they would require little or no government, and that imperfection was of the essence of human nature, and therefore of governments. Men, says he, are governed by men: that government is the best, which, with the fewest imperfections, is best adapted to the respective genius and character

* Mr. Soame Jenyns, in some part of his works remarks, that the fallacy in the reasonings of Mr. Locke, and other political theorists, consists in their taking it for granted, that man is a reasonable being, but that this not being the case, their systems must fall to the ground. It cannot admit of a doubt that, in establishing the principles of government, one of the fundamental elements must consist in a faithful delineation of the nature of that being which is the subject of them; and, in this view, it is particularly important to ascertain what admixture of the black and selfish passions enter into the general composition and description of the human character and conduct. If this consideration is neglected, all the deductions must be false, just as the result of a calculation must be false, where one of the elements has been omitted. Those who are more versed than I can be in political erudition, can better judge how far this error is chargeable on these theorists. Mr. Jenyns's remark seems only to be a part of the more general principle, "that in all our practical intercourse with mankind, we should deal with them *as they are, and not as they ought to be*."

racter of nations; and as there must be some evils, those who plan revolutions would do well to consider whether the eventual evils of their projects may not be greater and worse than the existing evils.

In speaking of the Directory, he said it was a form of government big with mischief; that the temporary tenure of power would lead its members to aggrandize and enrich themselves, their friends and families, at the expence of the country; that it must ever be a government of tyranny, rapacity, and corruption; that they were now actually corrupt, particularly Rewbel. I said, I believed he meant to describe something like the *nepotism* of the Popes. He said he did. Though naturally of a sedate demeanour, he grew warm on this subject; and, starting from his seat, he said he would maintain, in argument, against the most determined republican, that there could be no good executive administration but what proceeded from a single man; and gave reasons for it—such as promptitude, secrecy, and those counteractions of envy and jealousy, which mar public business when in the hands of equals. As I did not think it right to press any political subject upon him, I did not ask whether he thought it most expedient that this single man

man should be a Hereditary Monarch, or an Elective Magistrate like the American President.

In a subsequent conversation, he spontaneously gave his opinion on this point. He said, that as long as France had a republican government, in any form, there must be eternal seeds of animosity and hostility with all the surrounding Monarchies, and that there would be an unceasing effort to overturn them. I answered, that the aversion of all conditions of people in this, and I believed other countries, to French principles, would be a sufficient bar to this. He replied, that it was very likely they might not be able to effect their purpose upon principles of *persuasion* and *fanaticism*, but they would do so by *force*, as a measure of policy and self-preservation; and as Monarchies would necessarily be actuated likewise by considerations of self-defence, there would be a perpetual and reciprocal spirit of contention. He saw no remedy for this but the establishment of a limited monarchy in France (*un monarchie temperée*). It was monarchy alone, in some shape or other, that could suit them.

I asked him whether, if there were to be an *appel nominal* of the whole French nation, without being under the influence of fear, and at per-

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fect liberty, the vote would be in favour of royalty? He said, by a great majority, if they were sure of amnesty. I said, the greatest obstacle to a counter-revolution, appeared to me to arise from the possessors of the royal demesnes, the church lands, and confiscated estates. He said, it did not follow that the new proprietors were to be deprived of their possessions in such an event.

I asked him, how he thought they stood inclined to peace at this moment? He said, he made no doubt they would accept of it. That their three great resources, namely, paper money, confiscations, and foreign contributions, were now exhausted; and that more money would be wanted than they could possibly raise by taxes, which they were now going to resort to as their only expedient; and that this mode of raising money was so odious, that it must excite great discontent. I asked, whether the Directory might not think foreign war at all events necessary, for the maintenance and continuance of their power? He said, no; for that the garrisons, and other forces composing a standing army, would at all times afford sufficient pretences for keeping a military force on foot to overawe the country. He said, he believed it was

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the prospect of a successful insurrection in Ireland, that had made them reject our former overtures.

In another conversation, I told him that the function of our King consisted in little more than electing ministers; that they were alone responsible, the King being, by a delicate and wise fiction of the constitution, held to be even incapable of doing wrong; and that in making choice of ministers, he was under a sort of necessity of consulting the public interest and wishes; that this guarded, in a great measure, against the alleged evils of hereditary power, where the accident of birth is accused of supplanting or superseding the fair operation of virtue and talents. He observed upon this, that the Directory, so far from consulting the public opinion or wish, made it a sort of principle to *brave* these; that two or three years ago, there were three of the ministers who possessed the public esteem and confidence, while the rest were detested: they dismissed the former, and retained the latter: that better experience had taught the French nation that virtue and talents, so far from being a recommendation to popular choice, had been the most common object of proscription, and the most usual passport

the guillotine; and as to personal suffrage, his remark was, that it is the sure method of obtaining the most worthless men for representatives, judges, or magistrates. I remarked, that though I ought to speak with diffidence upon subjects which my profession and habits did not allow me to consider deeply, it appeared to me that the true *criterion* of a good form of government was to be sought, not in a theoretical analysis of it, but in its *practical result*; and as our constitution, in the last 110 years, had actually conferred a degree of felicity, civil, political, and physical, unequalled perhaps in the history of the world, unless we except the Roman empire, from Trajan to Antoninus, including both their reigns, that innovations should be adopted with extreme caution; that our hasty reformers seemed to me to act just as if I, or any other physician, were to tell a person who assured us that he now enjoys, and has long enjoyed, good health, that he knows nothing of the matter, but that we, from our study of the animal economy, know that he labours under a dangerous malady, and ought to take physic.

Though at this time only thirty-six years of age, he had, in conducting armies, done what no General

General in ancient or modern times had performed in the same climate—he carried on an uninterrupted series of military operations in the field for two successive winters, included between the time at which he took the command at the Lines of Weissemburgh in 1793, till he over-ran Holland in 1795. He said that, in that time, he had not, at an average, more than one hour's sleep in the course of the night and day, yet had always perfect health, till the illness for which he was under my care. This is a proof, among many others that have occurred to my observation, of the extraordinary powers imparted to the body by excitement of mind.

In the course of his conversation upon military affairs, he said, that during all his command, his army never had a tent; that they never were sickly, except that part of it which was employed in the siege of Sluys; that in a space of time from four to six hours, an army can build huts to shelter themselves, and that his camp was like a town composed of huts. I asked, whether it was political enthusiasm which reconciled the soldiers to the hardships and dangers of a service into which most of them had been forced? He said, no; but *un esprit de coquinage*, which I take, in

in English, to mean a spirit of idleness, or the love of living independent of honest industry.

I asked him, how military subordination could be maintained under principles of equality? and I remarked, that our hopes of success at the beginning of the war were greatly founded on our opinion of the impossibility of this. He answered, that at first, great difficulties attended it; but every one soon discovered, that their personal safety, in the business of the field, depended on discipline; and obedience was enforced, and jealousies quashed, by strong exertions of authority from the seat of government.

He had been well educated, both classically and mathematically, at some public institution for educating engineers; and it was evident from his conversation, that subjects of science were familiar to him. I shall give an instance. Upon my explaining to him the great perfection to which our system of intercourse was brought by means of mail coaches, and that I had just learned, in a medical attendance on the person who contracted for these vehicles, that they ran 49,000 miles in the course of every week, which is nearly twice the circumference of the globe; he said I was right, since a great circle

circle of the earth measures 9000 French leagues. It proved to be very impolitic in the old government of France, to bestow such high education and accomplishments on men who, by their regulations, could not rise above the rank of non-commissioned officers; and, next to the successful resistance of the American Colonies, the disorder of the French finances, the growth of false philosophy, and the too great facility of the reigning Monarch, this seems to have contributed most towards effectuating the most dreadful of all the revolutions recorded in history.

General Pichegru was by nature a humane and moderate man, and, having been born in Franche Comté, had much more the appearance and manners of a Swiss than of a Frenchman; yet it is hardly conceivable, but that, with his attainments, he must have felt the most galling discontent at the great and insurmountable distance, in point of rank and estimation in society, between himself and the youngest, most ignorant, and most flippant subaltern of noble birth. The member of the Committee of Safety and the Directory, Carnot, who was War Minister under Buonaparte, and who planned the campaigns with such ability

ability and success, had also been bred an engineer.

As these facts and reflections, so honourably illustrative of the character of General Pichegru, tend to diffuse sentiments friendly to loyalty, and to inculcate principles conducive to the peace and good order of society, I have deemed it my duty to comply with the request of the Editor, to insert them in this Work, and to authenticate them with my name.

GILBERT BLANE.

THE BUONAPARTE FAMILY.

THE families of legitimate sovereigns are known; and their ancestors are esteemed, extolled, censured, or calumniated, according to their merits, talents, and vices; or as envy is excited, or hatred provoked. Of the lineage of usurpers, generally, little account is given, and that little is doubtful; because, while their adherents flatter them, their opposers revile them; and while some assert that they descend from an ancestry as illustrious as eminent, others pretend to prove their forefathers to have been as mean as they were criminal.

According to some, Carlo Buonaparte, the father of him who has usurped the throne of France, and dragged his race and relatives from obscurity, was a gentleman descended from a Tuscan family, but settled two hundred years in Corsica; although they are forced to acknowledge that, during the civil troubles, he had

served

served as a common soldier under General Paoli and that it was the beauty of his wife, and her connexion with Mr. De Marbœuf, commander for the King of France in Corsica, which made him leave the field for the forum, *by procuring him* a place as the King's attorney.

Carlo Buonaparte, however, was a man of so little ability, that it required all Mr. De Marbœuf's partiality for Madame Buonaparte, to keep him in a situation where he could not transact even the little that was necessarily required of him. He was dull and mischievous, but not jealous; his wife brought him eight children, whom the *ami de la maison*, Mr. De Marbœuf, assisted to bring up, and to provide for: and *if they owed* their existence to a Corsican, their education was paid for by a Frenchman. Possessing no more industry than capacity, he lived and died poor, and bequeathed his offspring and their mother to the kind care of her protector and supporter*.

So far, and no farther, go the ingenious admirers or adulators of the First Consul; but who were his grandfather or great-grandfather, they pass

* *Le Recueil d'Anecdotes, Le Grand Homme, and Dictionnaire Biographique.*

pass over in silence. On the other hand, the enemies more to usurpation than to the usurper enter into several distinct particulars; which, although published in France, have never been contradicted, or proved not to be genuine, except by sending the *supposed* Author to the Temple, and afterwards *without a trial* to Cayenne: there was printed in 1800 a pamphlet, which they called "*The Genealogy of Brutus, Aly, Napoleone Buonaparte, the Corsican Successor to the French Bourbons;*" of which the following is an extract:

"After the disgrace of Theodore, King of Corsica, the Republic of Genoa published an *official* paper, to make him and his adherents more ridiculous and despised, entitled, 'A List of all Persons ennobled by the Adventurer calling himself King Theodore of Corsica.' This list was printed by the widow Rossi, at Genoa, in 1744; and contains, pages 6 and 7, some curious remarks upon, and concerning the usurper's family, more to be depended on, than those which fear, interest, meanness, and adulation have fabricated since he seated himself upon the throne of the Bourbons.

"When, on the 3d of May, 1736, Porto-Vecchio was attacked, a butcher from Ajaccio, called

called Josepho Buona, brought a seasonable assistance with a band of vagabonds and robbers; who, during the civil troubles, had chosen him for their leader; in return, King Theodore the next day created him a nobleman, and permitted him, as a memento of his services, to add to his name of Buona, the final termination, parte. His wife's name was Histria, daughter of a journeyman tanner at Bastia. Carlo Buona, the father of Josepho Buona, kept a wine-house for sailors; but being accused and convicted of murder and robbery, he died a galley-slave at Genoa in 1724; his wife, as an accomplice, and who, on account of her extremely vicious character, was called La Birba, died at Genoa in 1730, in the house of correction. These were the grand and great-grand parents of his Consular Majesty: who his father was, is well known; as also, that he, by turns, served and betrayed his country during the civil wars.

"After France had conquered Corsica, he was a spy to the French governors, and his wife their mistress. From *this pure and virtuous source descends* Brutus, Aly, Napoleone Buonaparte, the successor of the Bourbons, born in a country whose inhabitants were, in the time of the Romans, held in such detastation for their infa-

mous

mous and treacherous disposition, that they would not have them even for slaves; and of whom Seneca, who resided long among them, has said, as if he had imbibed the prophetic spirit,

Prima lex, illis ulcisci; altera, vivere rapto;
Tertia, mentire; quarta, negare Deos.
SENECA DE CORSICIS.

LETITIA RANIOLINI,

MATER GRACCHORUM.

LETITIA RANIOLINI, the mother of the Buonapartes, is by some said to be the daughter of an attorney, by others, of a blacksmith. At the age of fifteen, she made a *faux pas* with a friar, and at sixteen married the soldier Carlo Buonaparte. Her education had been so totally neglected, that when she was picked up by Mr. De Marbœuf, she could neither read nor write; and her own brother, a poor curate, was engaged and paid by him for instructing her; while he himself taught her to perform the honours of his house. Possessing a natural, though uncultivated genius, she soon repaid, by her improve-

ment and attentions, the expences and anxiety of her friend. In her younger years she was pretty, rather than handsome; her conversation was trivial, but rendered pleasing and agreeable by her manner of expressing herself. She was accused of blending the Italian cunning with the Corsican duplicity, and prudery with wantonness; and, to cover all fashionable vices with religious hypocrisy, she went regularly to church, and religion always appeared to occupy a mind, vacant, if not wicked. She confessed once in the week, got her absolution, sinned, and confessed again. She wore, and yet wears, upon her person, *the relics of some saint;* she was, and is yet, strict in her external devotions, fast-days, and inflictions on herself of severe penances and mortifications*.

After the death of her benefactor, and by the Revolution, which deprived her of a pension settled on her by him, she was reduced to the greatest indigence. Her eldest daughter having married Bacchiochi, a Corsican established as a chocolate manufacturer at Basle†, she received from

* See La Sainte Famille, Paris, year xi. without printer's name, page 8.

† Bacchiochi was first marker at a billiard-table. He is lately *made Prince of Piombino* !!!

from him an annuity of six hundred livres (25*l.* sterling); upon which, and some millinery work of her other daughters, she subsisted, until Napoleone obtained from the hands of Barras, the widow of the guillotined General Beauharnois *.

Before Napoleone went to Egypt, in 1798, he deposited a capital, of which the interest, twelve thousand livres (or 500*l.* sterling) was left at her disposal, to provide for herself, her youngest son, and two daughters yet unmarried †.

During the absence of Napoleone, she was regarded with such an air of caution, suspicion, and superiority by his wife, that, notwithstanding all her christianity, she can hardly forget or forgive it. She was despised as a person without birth and education, and shunned or insulted because she was believed to watch the conduct of her daughter-in-law, which could not always stand the scrutiny. When Napoleone had usurped the supreme power, she obtained apartments in the castle of the Thuilleries; but though she lives under the same roof with Madame Napoleone, she neither likes her, nor has she spared any

* See the last-mentioned pamphlet, page 12.

† See Les Nouvelles à la Main, Fructidor, an vi. No. iii. p. 3.

any pains to set her son against his wife. With the charitable disposition of a Corsican bigot, she has more than once intrigued to persuade the Consul to a separation, if not to a divorce; but his policy and fear have gotten the better both of his own desire and the intrigues and hatred of his mother*.

Since her daughter's marriage with Louis Buonaparte, Madame Napoleone has gained much influence over her husband, and in proportion lessened that of his mother, whom the Archbishop of Paris and her own confessor, both in the interest of Madame Napoleone, have advised to seek a reconciliation, and forget what has passed, or is supposed to have passed, injurious or offensive to her; and their advice has so far been followed, that these two ladies live in peace, though not in friendship or familiarity.

When the religious concordat had been agreed to and ratified in France, the Pope's nuncio, the Cardinal Legate Caprara, presented her from his Holiness with some very precious relics; amongst others, a finger of St. Xavier, having the quality to keep off evil and haunting spirits, because, though her consular son neither believes in a God,

* See La Sainte Famille, page 13.

God, nor in his angels and saints, she dreads ghosts, goblins, and the devil; and such is her superstitious and ridiculous terror, that she never dares to remain alone in a room, or after dark to go out without somebody to accompany her. She passes several hours every day in consulting *soi-disant* witches, in whom she places great confidence, and in having her fortune told by cards or in coffee-cups*.

It is reported in the Corsican family, that when Madame Buonaparte was pregnant with Napoleone, "an Algerine woman, slave to a Sardinian lady, travelling in Corsica, *predicted* that the child in her womb should live to create kings and dictate to emperors; but that he should perish at an early age by the hands of a young woman, with a large lip, small nose, fair hair, and black eyes." She has such an implicit faith in this prediction, that two of her relations, whom she sent for from Corsica, were ordered back to that island, under the idea that they bore some resemblance to such a person. It is even said that Napoleone himself is not entirely free from scruples, and therefore approves his mother's failings, and weak and laughable precautions.

* *See Les Nouvelles à la Main*, an xi. No. v. p. 9.

cautions. A priest lately made his fortune by staggering her belief in this prophecy, and assuring her, *as a christian astrologer*, that, according to the Apocalypse, "She is to live to the age of ninety; after her death be proclaimed a saint, and that her son Napoleone is to be present at her canonization." As she is only sixty-two years old, and this priest is respected as a very virtuous and devout man, this has weakened or taken away a part of her apprehension of Napoleone dying young. Many of her intimates think that this priest was engaged by somebody in the Buonaparte family to diminish her own and her son's alarms*.

Madame Buonaparte's apartments, besides relics, are crowded with phials, with drops to prolong life, and to restore youth and vigour; with boxes, containing sympathetic powders for the continuation of her son's success in the world, and his affection for her, and with counter-poisons to preserve his life from the attempts of his enemies.

At certain periods of the year she does not suffer any body besides herself to prepare and dress the Consul's victuals; and when he is not travelling, she tastes every plate containing nourishment

* See the last-mentioned publication, page 10.

rishment destined for him, because a necromancer has calculated, that during some months of every year Napoleone is exposed to die by poison; but that at all times her care and inspection over his food is useful, and a preservative of his existence, health, and safety*.

Madame Buonaparte has rather been a weak than a good mother to her children, oftener overlooking their faults than correcting their errors or reprobating their offences. She has taught them to pray to God, but not to let their conduct bespeak their reverence of religion, and their faith in a Divinity. All her sons are of vicious and immoral principles, and all her daughters have been early relaxed, corrupted, and licentious. Lucien and Madame Le Clerc were her favourite children from their youth; but Napoleone was his own master, and her's, even when a boy; and she rather dreads than loves him, rather fears any accident happening to him on account of its consequence to the whole family, than with regard to him as her son; and it is for the life of the First Consul, not for the life of Napoleone Buonaparte, that she is so very anxious, that she ransacks scriptures, consults conjurors, believes in

* See La Sainte Famille, page 18.

in witchcraft, prays to God, and excommunicates the devil*.

Her political influence is not great, and she has sense enough not to meddle much with politics or state affairs. Of the revolutionary bishops, however, eight owe their sees to her recommendation, and three of the cardinals their ranks and dignities; and she had a *carte blanche* from her son for the nomination of all the curates at Paris and in Corsica.

In the spring of 1802, after the publication of the concordat with the Pope, by the advice of some pious counsellors, she desired and demanded to be founder of some convents for nuns; but Napoleone cut the business short, by telling her, that if in the Bible she could shew him a passage where nuns were mentioned, he would permit her to erect convents, not only in France, but all over Italy, Switzerland, and Holland.

According to the *Livre Rouge*, by Bourrienne, Madame Buonaparte has received two millions of livres as an establishment; and presents to the amount of 600,000 livres: she has, besides, an annuity

* In a family quarrel, March 1804, she defended Lucien, and has therefore shared no honours from the late emperor-making. She resides now at Rome, with Lucien, and the Princess Borghese (*ci-devant* Madame Le Clerc).

annuity of 1,200,000 livres, which, as she resides mostly with the First Consul, she distributes among her other children.

In her dress, Madame Buonaparte is plain; in manners unassuming; but in her looks may be perceived a continual agitation and uneasiness, either about her own future welfare, or the present existence of the First Consul. At the Thuilleries, as well as at St. Cloud, she has a private chapel adjoining her bed-room, and a private chaplain occupying an apartment next to the chapel. This priest is an old Corsican, who has been her confessor for nearly forty years; and she is said to pass even whole nights with this holy man in her chapel, in prayers and meditations *.

* The particulars mentioned in this sketch, of which the authority is not quoted, are found in a pamphlet, called La Sainte Famille, printed last year at Paris, and in the different numbers of Les Nouvelles à la Main.

JOSEPH BUONAPARTE.

JOSEPH BUONAPARTE, the elder brother of the First Consul, was, before the Revolution, a clerk to an attorney at Ajaccio, in Corsica. Having less vanity and less talents than many of the other members of his family, he passed his time in obscurity and penury, and continued quietly to reside in his country during its occupation by England.

When the crimes of his brother Napoleone had thrown the mistress of Barras into his arms, with the command over the army in Italy, the intrigues of the Directory caused Joseph to be chosen, for the department of Liamone, a member in the Council of Five Hundred. In this place he seldom ascended the tribune, or made himself remarked for any thing but his silent vote, always in favour of the Directorial faction, and its plots to oppress and enslave Frenchmen. In the spring of 1797, he was suspected to be Barras' spy upon the conduct of the loyal members of the Legislative Body, who shunned, despised, and insulted him*. From this disagreeable situation he was relieved by his brother's demand,

* La Sainte Famille, page 25.

demand, and his promotion by the Directory, in August the same year, to be Ambassador at Rome.

Pius VI. the virtuous sovereign over the Papal territory, had some few months before, by numerous territorial and pecuniary sacrifices, bought and concluded a peace with Napoleone Buonaparte, for the French Republic and its governments*. Of the contracting parties, the Pope, the

* On the occasion of this peace, which the interest of France demanded, and the humanity of the Pope consented to sign, the two following letters passed between the chief of the Catholic religion, and a General of no religion.

POPE PIUS VI. TO GENERAL BUONAPARTE.

Dear Son, health and apostolic benediction.

Desiring to terminate amicably our differences with the French Republic by the retreat of the troops which you command, we send and depute to you as our plenipotentiaries, two ecclesiastics, the Cardinal Mathei (who is perfectly known to you), and Mr. Galeppi; and two seculars, the Duke Don Louis Braschi (our nephew), and the Marquis Camillo Massinio, who are invested with our full powers to concert, promise, and subscribe, such conditions as we hope will be just and reasonable; obliging ourselves, under our faith and word, to approve and ratify them in special form, in order that they may be valid and inviolable in all future time. *Assured of the sentiments of good will which you have manifested, we have abstained from removing any thing from Rome, by which you will be persuaded of the entire confidence which we repose in you.* We conclude with assuring you of our most perfect esteem and presenting you with the paternal apostolic benediction.

PIUS. P. P. VI.

Given at St. Peter's, in Rome, the 12th February, 179 the 22d year of our pontificate.

the only sufferer, and who alone had any real complaints to make, was the only sincere one. The directorial rulers and their general were at this period tormented by the fury of an universal

BUONAPARTE, GENERAL IN CHIEF OF THE ARMY OF ITALY, TO HIS HOLINESS THE POPE.

Head-Quarters at Tolentino, 1 Ventose, 5th Year.

MOST HOLY FATHER,

I ought to thank your Holiness for the obliging things contained in the letter which you have taken the trouble to write to me.

The peace between the French Republic and your Holiness is just signed; I felicitate myself in being able to contribute to your personal safety.

I entreat your Holiness to guard against the persons now at Rome, who are sold to the courts the enemies of peace, or who suffer themselves to be guided exclusively by the passion of hatred, which the loss of territory naturally engenders.

Europe knows the pacific inclination and the virtue of your Holiness. The French Republic will be one of the truest friends of Rome.

I send my aid-de-camp, chief of brigade, to express to your Holiness the perfect veneration which I have for your person, and to entreat you to confide in the desire which I have to give you, on every occasion, proofs of the respect and veneration with which I have the honour to be,

Your most obedient servant,

BUONAPARTE.

Within ten months from the date of this letter the Pope was in fetters; and his *truest* friend, the French Republic, occupied and plundered Rome, and established an atheistical republic upon the ruins of the Christian religion.

sal republic; and their favourite plan and ambition was, to revive the ancient Roman commonwealth. No sooner, therefore, was the peace at Tolentino signed, than a swarm of jacobin emissaries were sent to Rome, to conspire and spread disaffection and atheism among the subjects of the Holy See. Determined to carry their point by their old means of exciting insurrections, the Directory had chosen Joseph Buonaparte to protect, by his diplomatic character, and as a privileged person, the rebellious and revolutionary insurgents and traitors instigated and instructed by republican France. From the moment of his arrival, plots, insurrections, and incendiary placards were daily produced; under his influence, all persons confined for treason and sedition, or, as he *gently* termed it, for political opinions, were liberated from prison; his palace became their constant rendezvous; and he appeared as the patron of a fête, at which all the vagabonds and desperadoes in Rome were collected, called *The Feast of Liberty!* These men, headed by French jacobins, formed a plan for revolutionizing Rome. They began their career by erecting poles, as trees of liberty, surmounted with red caps, and dancing round them at midnight, and by forming false patroles to

elude

elude the police, and to throw the city into confusion; and fixed on Innocents-day for the completion of their project. In the afternoon of that day, or on December 28th, 1797, a large party assembled in the street called the Lungara, opposite the Ambassador's residence, where a Frenchman attended, delivering to them national cockades, and six Paul-pieces, (35 shillings) to be expended in liquor. Their conversation, directed by prepared incendiaries, turned on the common topics of popular complaint, the distresses of the poor, and the dearness of provisions: a revolutionary abbé made a long harangue, interlarded and enforced by perverted texts from Holy Writ, to prove that the time was arrived for the overthrow of their existing government.

Animated by these discourses, and secure of protection from the French Ambassador, Joseph Buonaparte, the mob sallied forth, seized the guard-house, and attacked the Ponte Sesta. At this place, however, they were repulsed by the military, and pursued to the Ambassador's hotel, the Corsini palace, whither they retired for shelter. Joseph Buonaparte and his associates, hastening from their apartments, rushed into the *midst of the* mob with drawn swords: a great

tumult

tumult and some firing ensued, in which a dozen persons lost their lives, among whom was General Duphot, affianced to Joseph's sister.

Immediately on this event, Joseph Buonaparte retired to his palace, and, on the ensuing morning, at six o'clock, quitted Rome, obstinately deaf to all propositions of explanation or apology. He forwarded from Florence an exaggerated account of this transaction to France, which furnished the Directory with the pretext that they had so long and ardently desired. In vain did the Papal Government offer every kind of acknowledgment and atonement; in vain did they tender implicit and unconditional submission: orders were immediately issued for General Berthier to revolutionize Rome, and give up the country to pillage *.

This faithful detail, related by loyal and able contemporary writers, unties the Gordian knot of French republican diplomatic chicanery, and the revolutionary Machiavelism of its ambassador; and almost proves what an Italian author printed at Verona in 1799, that General Buonaparte destined his brother Joseph, and his brother-

* See Duppa's brief account of the subversion of the Papal Government, and *Les* Crimes des Republicains en Italie, *Histoire du Directoire* Executif has even been consulted.

ther-in-law Duphot, for the two first consuls of the (by France) renewed Roman Republic; but which the well-merited death of Duphot, and the different views, and perhaps jealousy of the Directory, prevented from taking place.

Of the conduct of Joseph Buonaparte on this occasion opinions are not much divided; even Frenchmen agree, that he must want as well honour, religion, delicacy, and probity, as talents and sense, to suffer himself to become the despicable tool of ambition, or of the ambitious; and it is not a little degrading to the present Chief of the Roman Catholic religion, that he signed, in 1802, the concordat for establishing religion in France, with this same man, who, by his intrigues in 1797, signed the death-warrant of religion in Italy, and of his own religious predecessor.

During Napoleone's absence in Egypt, Joseph was again elected a member of the Council of Five Hundred; but the cabals of the factious at this period, the danger of notoriety, the defeat of his brother before St. Jean d'Acre, and his critical situation in Egypt, made him resign his place as a deputy, which he could no longer enjoy either with profit or safety.

At his brother's unexpected return to France, after

after his desertion from the Army of Egypt, Joseph left his retreat, and, with Napoleone and Talleyrand, plotted the revolution which was effected at St. Cloud, and seated a Buonaparte upon the throne of the Bourbons. He was soon after appointed a counsellor of state in the section of the home department, or interior.

Frenchmen were now as insensible to losses as indifferent about advantages; disgusted with the war, they disregarded victories; and their only wish, their only cry, was Peace. Napoleone was the favourite of the people, not so much for his conquests, as for his policy of always talking of peace, and of his endeavours to obtain it. He knew, therefore, that any person of his family negotiating and signing the termination of hostilities, would endear themselves to the giddy French nation; and, by procuring a general pacification, produce a temporary tranquillity, lessen the injustice, and palliate the tyranny of his usurpation, and give him time to organize his consular government. Joseph Buonaparte was therefore sent to negotiate with Austria at Luneville in the winter of 1800, where he signed the Definitive Treaty on the 9th of February 1801. On the 10th of September following, he concluded, at Paris, a Convention [illegible] the

Pope; and at Amiens, on the 27th of March, 1802, he terminated the war with England.

When a person is backed by 500,000 bayonets, assisted by well-drawn instructions, and accompanied by able secretaries, it is neither difficult to negotiate, nor to dictate treaties, conventions, or concordats. The arguments of bayonets always carry conviction with them, shorten conferences, force sacrifices, bring about conclusions, and bid defiance to the acknowledged laws of nations, balance of power, political justice, the prerogatives of sovereigns, and the right and liberties of the people. Austria was weakened and humiliated by the treaty of Luneville; by the Convention at Paris the Pope was insulted, and religion degraded; and, at the same time, the politics, morals, and religions of the Continental Nations were reduced to the same level, and made to depend entirely upon the caprice, passions, or ambition of the revolutionary and military despot in France. Fortunately for the civilized world, that this was not exactly the case with the treaty of Amiens, its short duration proves; England, therefore, may yet claim the respect of contemporaries, the gratitude and admiration of posterity, as the protector of the weak, the barrier to ambition, the check

check to selfishness; the example of virtuous moderation, and the guardian angel of the liberty and independence of mankind.

In the summer of 1802, Joseph Buonaparte was nominated a senator, and a grand officer of the Legion of Honour; and he has lately received the *Senatorie* of Brabant; or which is the same thing, is made Napoleone's governor-general over Belgia, and his future residence is fixed at Brussels. He has often, particularly since the war broke out anew, been employed in missions in different departments, and, as his brother's pro-consul, presided at the Electoral Colleges, where, according to the consular constitution, candidates for the Senate, the Legislative Body, and the Tribunate, are elected.

That Joseph formerly possessed the esteem and friendship of Napoleone, the annexed letter shews*. It was sent to him at a time when the general

* Copy of a letter from Buonaparte to his brother Joseph, taken by Lord Nelson in the Mediterranean, without signature, but sealed with wax; the impression, a female figure standing with the cap of Liberty, and the fasces.

BUONAPARTE, GENERAL IN CHEF. REPUBLIC FRANCAISE.

Le Caire, le 7 Thermidor. (*25 Juillet*, 1798.)

Tu varrà dans les papier public la relation des bataille e de la conquête de l'Egypte qui a eté assé disputé pour ajouter une feuille

general dreaded the consequences of his absurd and ambitious schemes, and therefore wished for retirement rather than publicity, to bury himself in oblivion upon an estate in Burgundy, rather than to head armies in Egypt and Syria. Since Napoleone has usurped the supreme power, Louis has superseded Joseph in the consular friendship, and is worthy to have done so when vice and wickedness are the principal recommendations to favour.

Ioseph.

feuille à la gloire militaire de cette armée. L'Egypte est le pays le plus riche en blé, ris, legumes, viandes qui existe sur la terre la barbarie est a son compte. Il n'y a point d'argent, pas meme pour solder la troupe. Je pense etre en France dans 2 mois. Je te recommande mes interets.—J'ai beaup beaup de chagrin domestique, car la voile est entierement levée. Toi seul me reste sur la terre, ton amitié m'est bien chere. Il ne me reste plus pour devinir misantrope qu'a te perdre et te voir me trait.—C'est ma triste position que d'avoir a la fois tous les sentimens pour une meme personne dans son cœur—tu m'entend !

Fais ensorta que jaye une campagne a mon arrivée, soit pres de Paris ou en Bourgogne, je compte y passer l'hiver et m'y enterrer je suis annué de la nature humaine ! J'ai besoin de solitude et d'isolément, la grandeur m'annue, le sentiment est deseche, la gloire est fade, a 29 ans j'ai tou epuisé. Il ne me reste plus qu'a devinir bien vraiment Egoiste. Je comte garder ma maison, jamais je ne la donnerai a qui que ce soit. Je n'ai plus de quoi vivre ! Adieu mon unique ami ; je n'ai jamais eté injuste envers toi. Tu me dois cette justice malgre le desir de mon cœur de l'etre tu m'entend !

Ambrasse ta femme pour moi.

The spelling is preserved exactly as it was in the original.

Joseph is a good father and husband, a dutiful son and an affectionate brother, but an indifferent and dangerous citizen in a commonwealth. He is married to a woman of obscure birth and low manners, but of an estimable and good character; he loves his family and relatives, and nothing but his family and relatives. His native country, Corsica, he dislikes; he hates France and Frenchmen, and would willingly sign the destruction of any kingdom, were it necessary for his family elevation, ambition, or pretensions*.

According to the Livre Rouge by Bourrienne, Joseph has received for an establishment two millions of livres, and as presents for his negotiations one million five hundred thousand livres; he enjoys, besides, the salaries for his many high places, a yearly pension of one million two hundred thousand livres, and as an annuity for four relations of his wife, two hundred thousand livres†.

* In the late change of government and dynasty in France, proclaimed and decreed by some rebels under the name of Senators and Tribunes, Joseph Buonaparte has been made an Imperial Highness and an Arch-Elector.

† See Dictionnaire Biographique, Le Grand Homme, and la Sainte Famille, with several numbers of Les Nouvelles à la Main.

NAPOLEONE BUONAPARTE.

Quels traits me presentent vos fastes,
Impitoyable conquerans ?
Des vœux outrés, des projets vastes
Des rois vaincus par des tyrans ;
Des murs que la flamme ravage
Un vainqueur fumant de carnage,
Un peuple au fers abandonné ;
Des meres pales et sanglantes
Arrachant leurs filles tremblantes
Des bras d'un soldat effréné.

J. B. ROUSSEAU.

A TRULY great man wants neither the often-envied merit of an ancestry, nor the doubtful hope of a brilliant progeny. He alone constitutes his whole race; he makes a blot of what has been before him, and apprehends nothing of what is to succeed him. Without virtue there is no real greatness, as without religion there is no genuine virtue. Fortune, as frequently as talents, makes the warrior victorious and the conqueror successful; but not the fame of battles, or the renown of prosperity, any more than terror of power, can command the admiration of the good, the approbation of the humane, or the applause of the just and generous.

Who

Who were those, praising and worshipping a Cæsar, extolling and adoring an Octavius Augustus? Were they not the base slaves of an usurpation, and not the free citizens of a commonwealth, who would as willingly and as cordially have prostrated themselves before their rivals or opposers, before a Sylla, a Pompey, a Brutus, or an Antony? Who are those that lavish encomiums, preach obedience, and exhort submission to a Buonaparte? Are they not the already degraded and dishonoured slaves of a Robespierre, a Marat, a Brissot, a Merlin, and a Barras; who have been fighting their battles, submitting to their tyranny, and magnifying their clemency, just as they now do that of the Corsican?

All usurpers have been despised by the virtuous, dreaded by the weak and timorous, obeyed by the vicious and the cowardly, associated with by the treacherous, disaffected, and guilty; and if all usurpers are "damned to everlasting fame," their base tools deserve everlasting contempt; because they are the accomplices of their crimes, the obscure instruments of their elevation, without an adequate profit or advantage to diminish their infamy, to extenuate their rebel*lion, or to palliate* or excuse their seduction or deser-

desertion from the cause of honour and of loyalty.

Of the accomplices or slaves of ancient usurpers, but little is known; oblivion has erased and concealed most of their names, although history has recorded their guilt; but we know that Cæsar descended from a noble family, and that Octavius was his nephew; we are ignorant, however, who were their relatives, what places they filled, what authority they exerted, what riches they possessed, what influence they had, what good they effected, or what evil they prevented.

By the short and imperfect sketches contained in these small volumes, some of Buonaparte's revolutionary predecessors, and many of his criminal associates, are made known, as they deserve, without flattery and without falsehood; and the pedigree of his family has been traced, both as it has been represented by his friends and by his adversaries.

The plan of this work does not permit the Author either to follow him through his campaigns in Italy, or to wander with him in Egypt; to discuss the cause, means, and manner of his usurpation: to penetrate into the secret

cret views of his ambition, or to speculate upon its future intentions, as a First Consul in France, as a President in Italy, or as a Tyrant over thirty millions of Frenchmen, six millions of Italians, two millions of Helvetians, and three millions of Batavians. Others have already painted the hero, admired the victor, illustrated the conqueror, and bowed to the usurper. Panegyric has been exhausted, comparisons worn out, praise wasted, made common and nauseous. The annals, the monuments of the ancients, and the memoirs, the works, the history, and all the productions of the moderns, and of modern ingenuity, have been ransacked to find words applicable to a man, who, for the honour of humanity, had no equal in former times, and only one person nearly resembling him in the present age, who, like himself, from a subject and citizen, became a rebel, and from a rebel a tyrant. The parallel between Maximilian Robespierre and Napoleone Buonaparte is more striking than many are aware of; and their revolutionary and cruel characters bear surprizing traits of likeness; more, no doubt, than will be remembered or recorded in this sketch. In 1793, France suffered, and Europe was disturbed by the revo-

lutionary anarchy of Robespierre; in 1803, France is enslaved, and Europe dishonoured, by the revolutionary tyranny of Buonaparte.

Robespierre and Buonaparte are both children of the same parent, the French Revolution: they are brother *sans-culottes*; brother jacobins; fellow-subjects of the sovereign people; fellow-propagators of fraternity; fellow-apostates of equality; and fellow-destroyers of liberty in the name of liberty itself. Fellow-rebels to their King, they have both usurped his throne; and fellow-apostates of their religion, they have both used religion as an instrument to support their usurpation.

Robespierre had but little revolutionary experience; Buonaparte has had a perfect revolutionary education. That the same blood runs in the veins of both, the equally sanguinary measures employed to obtain power, and the equally bloody deeds to preserve it, prove beyond contradiction; but the impolitic terror employed by the one, has strengthened and confirmed the political oppression of the other.

The murder and massacre of the Parisians in the prisons, September 1792, laid the foundation of the greatness of Robespierre; the murder and massacre of the Parisians in the streets,

October

October 1795, laid the foundation of the greatness of Buonaparte. Both were, however, previously known in the bloody annals of the Revolution; both had already given proofs of their revolutionary civism. Robespierre planned the massacre at Avignon in October 1791; and Buonaparte headed the massacre at Toulon in December 1793.

Robespierre had his Danton; Buonaparte his Barras. The advice of Danton assisted Robespierre; the protection of Barras advanced Buonaparte. Robespierre, to become Dictator, espoused the interest of Danton; Buonaparte, to become a General, married the mistress of Barras. Robespierre sent Danton to the scaffold; Buonaparte sent Barras into exile. The one murdered an accomplice; the other disgraced a benefactor, whom he dared not murder.

At the head of the Committee of Public Safety, Robespierre crowded the prisons with suspected Frenchmen; at the head of the army in Egypt, Buonaparte poisoned the wounded Frenchmen who crowded his hospitals. Robespierre guillotined *en masse* French aristocrats; Buonaparte poisoned *en masse* French soldiers. Fear moved the axe of Robespierre's guillotine; cruelty distributed the poisonous draught of Buo-

naparte. Cowardice made Robespierre a murderer; calculation made Buonaparte a poisoner. The one destroyed those whom he feared as enemies; the other poisoned those friends who had served him as soldiers. Robespierre gave no quarter to his enemies; Buonaparte massacred, in cold blood, enemies to whom he had given quarter.

Robespierre declared a war of extermination against La Vendee; Buonaparte, by a perfidious peace, exterminated the Royalists of La Vendee. The one burned and plundered their property as enemies; the other imprisoned, transported, and murdered their persons when friends.

Robespierre, in his proclamations, threatened all Europe with a revolution; Buonaparte, by his negotiations, has revolutionized the whole Continent of Europe. Robespierre, with his guillotine, proposed to establish an universal anarchy; Buonaparte, with his bayonets, proposes to establish an universal slavery.

Robespierre spoke of humanity, while sending hundreds every day to the scaffold; Buonaparte talks of generosity, while sending to prison thousands of innocent travellers, protected by all the laws of nations and of hospitality.

Robes-

Robespierre *bravely* ordered no quarter to be given to British soldiers; Buonaparte *nobly* imprisons Britons who are no soldiers.

Under Robespierre, thousands of Frenchmen were in fetters; under Buonaparte, the whole French nation is enslaved.

Robespierre called all legal Princes tyrants; Buonaparte wishes to tyrannize over all legal Princes.

Robespierre, in his speeches, abused and insulted all Monarchs; Buonaparte, by his negotiations, has degraded Monarchy itself.

Robespierre proscribed commerce in France, by publishing a maximum; Buonaparte expects to revive commerce, by establishing a maximum upon thrones.

Robespierre, when a Dictator, to undermine thrones, continued to use the manners and language of a citizen *sans-culotte*; Buonaparte, when a Consul, to crush thrones, speaks to kings as if they were *sans-culottes*, and emperors as if they were his fellow-citizens.

Robespierre was a revolutionary fanatic; Buonaparte is a revolutionary hypocrite. The one was blood-thirsty through fear and fanaticism; the other is cruel by nature, from ambition, and self-interest. The one boldly told all mankind, *that he was its* enemy; the other acts as the

enemy of all mankind, while pretending to be its friend. The one decreed death to any one who should speak of peace; the other meditates slavery, plots, ruin, and prepares death by his pacifications.

The names of the victims who perished by Robespierrean cruelty were published in the daily papers; the names of those victims of Buonaparte's cruelty, who perish by the arms of his military commissions, by poison in his dungeons, by suffering during transportations, or by misery in the wilds of Cayenne, are only known to himself, to his accomplices, and to his executioners. Robespierre's victims were tried and condemned before they were executed; the victims of Buonaparte are condemned without a trial, and executed without condemnation.

The revolutionary fanaticism of Robespierre, like the religious one of Cromwell, sent his king to the scaffold; the revolutionary hypocrisy and ambition of Buonaparte, like that of Cromwell, keeps his legal king from his hereditary throne.

The friends of Robespierre pretend that he died a martyr to his cause, as a revolutionary enthusiast; Buonaparte is a revolutionary sophist, who probably will perish the martyr of his own *Machiavelism*.

Robes-

Robespierre was a Fleming; Buonaparte is a Corsican; the one born at Arras in Flanders, the other at Ajaccio in Corsica; the one in the northern, the other in the southern part of the French empire: neither was a Frenchman.

Robespierre has only been seen during the existence of foreign wars, civil troubles, and domestic factions; Buonaparte is firmly seated upon the throne of the Bourbons, all enemies are vanquished, all troubles are quieted, and all factions dissolved. What Robespierre would have done in his situation, it is impossible to say; but we have all witnessed, and yet witness, the proscription of liberty, the subversion of laws, the incertitude of property, and the organized military despotism of Buonaparte. The First Consul of the French Republic, and the sovereign of forty millions of slaves, shews every day the low whims, the mean caprices, the degrading vices, and the unbecoming passions of a Corsican adventurer, and the little soul of a fortunate upstart.

After this brief comparison, it may, however, be said, without exaggeration,

Le masque tombe, l'homme reste,
Et le hèros s'evanouit.

And indeed, when, without any colouring, am-

plification, or aggravation, only some of the atrocities of the Corsican First Consul have been related, it is to be apprehended, that even the MAN will disappear, and a monster remain; having nothing human but the shape, with the heart and ferocity of a tiger, and the cunning and treachery of the fox; artful and mischievous as a monkey, and blood-thirsty as a wolf.

Educated in a public military school at the expence of his virtuous Sovereign, Napoleone Buonaparte received, at the age of seventeen, from the same Prince, a commission as lieutenant of artillery, and new duties were added to former obligations; but no sooner sounded the trumpet of revolt, than he was one of the first to join its colours; and he beame a traitor and a rebel before he was a man.

Among the many other loyal officers in the regiment which Buonaparte disgraced by his principles and conduct, was Lieutenant Philipeaux, who was educated with him both in the college at Autun, and afterwards at the military school at Brienne, and who had hitherto been his friend. Philipeaux was frank, brave, and liberal; Buonaparte conceited, selfish, and mean; these opposite characters could not, therefore, long remain in unison, when experience and maturity, while they

they improved the judgment of the one, served but to expose, in more pointed colours, the vicious propensities of the other.

Both Philipeaux and Buonaparte had, from the absurd and dangerous system of education prevailing in France during its monarchical form of government, imbibed at an early age an admiration of the Grecian and Roman republics. Each had his chosen heroes of antiquity, whom he desired to imitate in his method, manners, and language. While Philipeaux rather inclined to the mild and amiable philosophy of a Tully, the cruel and unfeeling stoicism of a Cato and of a Brutus was the admiration of Buonaparte.

When the Revolution broke out, these two young men discussed, according to their different notions, what they owed to their king, to their country, and to themselves. Buonaparte, confounding stoicism with egotism, as he more than once already had done with cruelty, tried in vain to persuade his friend to regard the present political convulsions of France as referring only to themselves, and the hope it held out to them of rapid advancement among the civil troubles of parties, and the str[illegible] of factions. Philipeaux's loyalty [illegible] by all the

efforts of his friend's sophistry; and neither certainty of rank, nor prospect of riches, could move the heart of a person firm in his duty, both as a subject to his King, and as a Christian to his God.

The revolutionary fanaticism of Buonaparte soon exceeded all bounds; by associating with Championet, and other persons notorious in the cause of rebellion, he insulted the feelings of Philipeaux, who soon ceased to be any longer his friend. In 1790, by taking the decreed oath to the nation, which annulled his former oath of allegiance to his prince, Buonaparte proved that he was unworthy the attachment of the friend of his youth; and, in proportion as their mutual affection had been great, their reciprocal hatred became violent. At the mess of their regiment, Philipeaux publicly insulted him as a perjured traitor; but, as this fashionable patriotism had been combined with a no less fashionable prudence, he declined (though so contrary to the nice principles of honour among the French military serving the King) either to demand an explanation, or to take satisfaction as a gentleman or as an officer. He was, in consequence, excluded from the mess; and, in revenge, he excited the jacobins to attack the whole corps of officers

with their usual calumnies, abusing them as aristocrats, and threatening them with the lamp-post, or, as it was then called, the lantern of the sovereign people. To spare their countrymen from fresh crimes, most of the officers, and among others Philipeaux, emigrated.

Imprudence, or the want of discrimination, often misleads young and warm minds, who feel as a want, the pleasure to be derived from communicating with and confiding in a friend; but who cease to feel so forcibly that sympathy when age has matured their reason. This base and cowardly behaviour of Buonaparte, therefore, convinced Philipeaux that he had hitherto fostered a serpent in his bosom, and made him remember many particulars of their earliest youth, which caused him to be ashamed of having so long been the dupe of a man, whose ferocious and atrocious sentiments he had often witnessed; but which, instead of ascribing to a deeply vicious heart, he conceived to originate from a head turned by wrong ideas of stoicism.

He recollected, that, at the age of twelve, in the College at Autun, Buonaparte had a favourite dog which had belonged to his deceased father, who was particularly fond of him, and on his *death-bed had* bequeathed him to Napoleone to be

be taken care of. For fifteen months this dog had been his constant and faithful attendant; when one night, by stealing a part of his master's supper, he offended him so much, that after a cruel beating, Buonaparte swore the dog should never live another supper-time; the next day he put his threat into execution, by nailing the poor animal alive against the wall, and cutting him up deliberately, that he might be tormented so much the longer!!!

At the age of fifteen, in the military school at Brienne, Buonaparte had an intrigue with the daughter of a washer-woman, who found herself in a state of pregnancy. He consulted Philipeaux, how to extricate himself from this disagreeable affair; and was advised by him to give her some money to carry her to the lying-in-hospital at Lyons, and Philipeaux offered his purse to assist him. The money was accepted; but within twenty-four hours the unfortunate girl perished, with her child, victims to the early cruelty of this young monster, who had brought her some pills, as he said, to produce an abortion or a miscarriage; but which, in fact, were composed of, or mixed with verdigris, and arsenic. The protection of M. de Marbœuf, however, *the interest* and reputation of the school, and a

sum of money given by his protector to the girl's mother, saved him from a well deserved punishment.

On the day that his poisoned mistress had been buried, he began to court her younger sister, and thus augmented his former unrepented guilt by base insensibility. Friendship, often as blind as love, ascribed to imitated stoicism, what was the mere effect of rooted wickedness.

His greatest amusement, when a boy, was to frequent the public hospitals when any dreadful or disgusting operations were to be performed, and to regard the pains and agonies of the sufferer, and of the dying. With what little money he had, he paid the attendants in these abodes of misery, to be informed when any scene of horror, conformable to his feelings, was expected to take place; and he diverted himself often with his comrades, in mimicking the convulsive struggles of suffering or expiring humanity. He piqued himself on having seen, before he was fifteen, 544 operations, or amputations, and the agonies or deaths of 160 persons*.

After

* These particulars of Buonaparte are taken from a work called Les Annales du Terrorisme, printed by Desenne, at Paris, in 1795, or an iv. pag. 59, 60, and 62. In February 1798, the author, then

After the emigration of most of the officers, Buonaparte was promoted to the rank of captain. In the course of the Revolution he was often employed in different expeditions; but his situation was obscure, his exertions unnoticed, and his character suspected, on account of his known connexions with intriguers of all parties, either aristocrats or jacobins, either Frenchmen or Corsicans. After resigning his company in the regiment of artillery de la Fére, he obtained a battalion of National Guards in Corsica; where being suspected of plotting the surrender of that island to the English, Lecourbe, St. Michael, and two other deputies of the National Convention, ordered him to be arrested. This circumstance obliged him to leave the army; and he was residing, in indigence, eight leagues from Toulon, when, in 1793, that city was in the possession of the English: Salicetti, one of the deputies on mission with the republican army, having some acquaintance with Buonaparte, recommended him to his colleague Barras, and he was employed during the siege with the rank of a chef de brigade. The cruelties which followed the surrender

a prisoner, was in company with Philipeaux at Paris, who *confirmed the* above-mentioned particulars in the presence of *d'Ab....t, at present* a Corsican Colonel of Artillery.

surrender of Toulon he commenced or committed. By a deceitful proclamation, all the inhabitants who had employment under the English during their occupation of Toulon, who had *served* or *lodged* any Englishman, or who had been *suspected* to have favoured their entry and the capitulation of that city, either *directly* or *indirectly*, were ordered, under pain of death, to meet in the grand square, called Le Champ de Mars, on a fixed day and hour. Upwards of fifteen hundred men, women, and children, assembled there in consequence of this proclamation; Buonaparte then desired all those who wished to escape punishment and death to cry out—*Vive la Republique!* With one voice these unfortunate persons called out, the Republic for ever! This was the signal for their destruction. Cannons loaded with grape shot killed some, and wounded and maimed others, who were dispatched with swords and bayonets. The official report of this ferocious performance is contained in the following letter from Buonaparte, addressed to Citizen Barras, Freron, and Robespierre the younger, representatives of the people, dated Toulon, the 29th Frimaire, Year 2 (December 24th, 1793.)

"CITIZEN REPRESENTATIVES,

"Upon the field of glory, my feet inundated

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with the blood of traitors, I announce to you, with a heart beating with joy, that your orders are executed, and France revenged; neither sex nor age have been spared; those who escaped, or were only mutilated by the discharge of our republican cannon, were dispatched by the swords of liberty and the bayonets of equality.

"Health and admiration.

"BRUTUS BUONAPARTE,

"Citizen sans-culottes*."

It was the fashion in 1792 and 1793, among the *exclusive* patriots, as they were called, to assume Roman and Grecian names; intending thereby to exclude from modern republicanism, and to regard as suspected, or to proscribe every citizen, who, as Dubois Creancé†, one of them proposed, at the club of the jacobins, could not prove that, in case of a return of order and religion, a gibbet was merited by, and would reward his patriotism. This was the first time, but

* Les Annales du Terrorisme, page 64.

† In May 1794, when Robespierre accused Dubois Creancé with not being a patriot, the latter, to prove his patriotism, made the motion, that no man should be regarded or protected as a patriot, who could not answer in the affirmative this question,—"*Have you done any thing to deserve the gallows, should the throne and altar be re-established?*"

but not the last, that Napoleone Buonaparte changed his Christian name. In 1796 he was again Napoleone Buonaparte; but in 1798 he became Ali Buonaparte; and in 1800, *tout court*, Buonaparte.

After the death of Robespierre, the horrors that he had excited at Toulon caused him to be arrested as a terrorist, and sent prisoner to Nice. As, however, it was impossible to prosecute all the subordinate agents in those disgraceful scenes, he was, with many of his accomplices, released by the amnesty of the National Convention; but, on his return to Paris, failing in his efforts to procure employ, he was reduced to extreme distress and penury. In this desperate situation, he was again recommended to the notice of Barras, drawn forth from his place of concealment, and invested with the command of the artillery to be employed in murdering and subjugating the people of Paris.

The regicide National Convention (which had overthrown the monarchy and the church, murdered its king, disturbed all Europe, and made all Frenchmen wretched), when forced to resign its usurped power, wishing partly to continue it, decreed the re-election of two-thirds of its guilty members. This was opposed by all

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respectable and loyal citizens; among others, by the sections, and by the inhabitants of Paris, who prepared, with arms in their hands, to defend their violated rights.

Pichegru, Moreau, and other known and distinguished generals, were applied to; but refused to command the conventional troops destined to perpetuate rebellion by exterminating its opposers. Buonaparte and other military criminals were then resorted to, and dragged forward from their hiding-place; and thus, by perpetrating new crimes, they exchanged their well-deserved obscurity for a dreadful notoriety.

On the night of the 4th of October, 1795, preceding that which was to decide the fate of the National Convention and the new constitution, the two parties drew out their forces under circumstances widely different. The soldiers of the Convention were well armed, long disciplined, amply supplied with ammunition, and drilled into unanimity: the insurgent Parisian sections were deprived of the greater part of their arms, in consequence of the late insurrections; they had no artillery, and but a small supply of ammunition for their muskets; they had never seen any military service; and so far were they from being unanimous in any political sen-

timent,

timent, save that which occasioned their momentary combination, that it was judged expedient to avoid every discussion, and every allusion to general affairs, and to limit their demands, and their rallying word, to the single proposition of a free election, and no compulsory return of the two-thirds from the members of the Convention. The individuals who appeared in this insurrection were not, as on former occasions, the refuse of villany and infamy, the dregs of the suburbs, and the sweepings of the gaols; but their decent appearance, and neatness in their dress, exposed them to the ridicule of their adversaries, who contemptuously inquired, whether a successful insurrection had ever been conducted by gentlemen with powdered heads and silk stockings?

General Danican, the commander of the troops of the Parisian sections, feeling the insufficiency of his force for a manual contest, was anxious to avoid hostilities, and spent great part of the night in haranguing the troops of the Convention, under Barras and Buonaparte, and attempting to persuade them, that, as fellow-citizens, the cause of the people was their own. He found great difficulty in making himself heard, amid the persevering cry of *Vive la Convention!* which

the battalions on duty were instructed to vociferate. Many hot-headed men of his own party were eager to engage; and Buonaparte, and the other satellites of the Convention, confiding in their superior numbers, were desirous of hostilities, as the sure means of establishing their own power, and repressing all future exertions to counteract their unwarrantable assumption of authority. Danican did not, however, neglect other precautions suitable to his situation; and, by his efforts in the course of the night, his adherents were placed in a more respectable position than their numbers or their force had appeared to promise. Several of the sections, summoned by missionaries from the Convention to lay down their arms, had returned a resolute refusal; and the dread lest the soldiery should be persuaded to decline firing on the people, rendered the strongest party uneasy, though they persevered in their original determination to try the utmost extremes of blood, fire, and famine, rather than recede.

The troops of the Convention were reinforced during the next night by twenty thousand men from the country; the generals who were suspected of an inclination to avoid the effusion of blood, were exchanged for others incapable of

remorse

remorse or shame; the troops were intrenched, and the best position secured. The Primary Assemblies were convened in the section of Le Pelletier; but the sanguine confidence of some, and the treacherous insinuations of others, bore down the prudent counsels of General Danican; and it was resolved to attack the troops of the Convention in their strong-hold, not from the expectation of advantage in a regular conflict, but from a blind hope and foolish confidence that the military would not fire on the people.

The line of defence occupied by the Convention extended from the *Pont-neuf* along the quays on the right bank of the Seine, to the *Champs Elysées*, and was continued to the Boulevards. The people were masters of the *Rüe St. Honoré*, the *Place de Vendôme*, *St. Roch*, and the *Place du Palais Royal*; but they were without order, or a common point of action; and the nature of the insurrection had rendered it impossible to establish any. The Convention, pursuing the system which they had so often before tried with success, wasted a great portion of the day in sending deputies to harangue the sections, and in receiving and discussiug propositions of peace; but during the whole time thus gained, they were employed in reinforcing their positions,

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adding to their supplies, and raising the spirits of their troops. They knew that the insurrection must grow languid towards the evening, especially as those engaged in it had been exposed during the whole day, and part of the preceding night, to a storm, with a torrent of rain. Their scheme was attended with as complete success as they could wish for. Fervent debates in the Convention, messages, and an equivocating letter from the Committees to Danican, kept the people employed in discussion instead of action during the day; but as evening approached, when the general of the insurgents was preparing to withdraw his troops in separate portions, each to its own arrondissement, the forces of the Convention changed their position; the post of the citizens at *St. Roch* was fired upon from a house in the *Cul de Sac Dauphin*, and the scene of carnage was begun. The citizens made at first some resistance; but the artillery, commanded by the cruel Buonaparte, swept the streets in every direction, killed or wounded every person walking in them; and the insurgents, neither sufficiently numerous nor desperate enough to rush forward and seize the cannon, retreated in every direction, concealing themselves in houses, and under gateways, and

finally

finally in the church of St. Roch; while great numbers fled from the spot, crying treason, and spreading alarm and despair in every direction. All the barricades erected to oppose the progress of the troops of the Convention were beaten down by Buonaparte's cannon, and men, women, and children, killed without mercy. Every expedient for resistance failed; and the insurgents being dispersed, and Danican himself obliged to ensure his safety by concealment, the regicide Convention remained victorious; and during the whole night repeated discharges of cannon announced their triumph, and prevented any new rallying of their opponents.

Eight thousand mutilated carcasses, of both sexes and of all ages, were the horrible trophies presented to the French nation by Buonaparte's first victory as general; but as he never before had filled any superior command, it is necessary to exhibit his principles and patriotism in their true colours, by shewing, from impartial and loyal authors, of what sort of men a Convention was composed, for whom Buonaparte had been fighting, or rather butchering*.

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* See Les Brigands Demasqués, par Danican, and Histoire du Directoire Executif.

The general character, however, of this body, at once contemptible and formidable, atrociously wicked, and abjectly mean, cannot be given complete, without a distinct revision of its acts, which in government, religion, finance, jurisprudence, and warfare, exhibit but one principle —a resolute pursuit of a given object, with a total disregard of the opinions of mankind, and a contempt of all established or avowed principles of morality or good faith. But perverse and ignorant men, suddenly possessed of all the wealth, strength, and resources of an ingenious, rich, and powerful nation, could not, without a peculiar mixture of ferocity and wickedness, have committed the acts which stigmatized the Convention; nor could the mighty energies which they aroused and guided have been directed to so few purposes of real national good, but for the folly which generally accompanies extreme vice and depravity, and renders the triumphs of villany bitter, even in the most ardent moment of enjoyment.

The general abstracts of the acts of the Convention, and the effects of its existence, is thus detailed by Prudhomme, who, from an outrageous jacobin, became a repentant citizen, and, to prove his sincerity, recorded the atrocities of his *former* accomplices. The sittings of the French National

National Convention continued thirty-seven months and four days; during which time, 11,210 laws were enacted; 360 conspiracies and 140 insurrections denounced; and 18,613 persons put to death by the guillotine. The civil war at Lyons cost 31,200 men; that at Marseilles, 729. At Toulon, 14,325 were destroyed; and in the reactions in the South, after the fall of Robespierre, 750 individuals perished. The war in La Vendee is computed to have caused the destruction of 900,000 men, and more than 20,000 dwellings. Impressed with images of terror, 4790 persons committed suicide, and 3400 women died in consequence of premature deliveries; 20,000 are computed to have died of famine, and 1550 were driven to insanity. In the colonies, 124,000 white men, women, and children, and 60,000 people of colour, were massacred; two towns, and 3200 habitations, were burnt. The loss of men in the war is estimated, though certainly below the real truth, at 800,000; while 123,789, who had emigrated in the course of the Revolution, were, by the Convention, for ever excluded from their country*.

Enchanted

* The account of these transactions and particulars is taken from Les Brigands Demasqués, by General Danican, and Prudhomme, *vol. vi. and Tableau General.*

Enchanted with Buonaparte's *humanity* and bravery in the streets of Paris, his protector Barras first made him second in command in the Army of the Interior, and in a short time afterwards commander in chief over the same army. During the winter of 1795, to qualify himself for his new appointment, and to retain an interest with the Director Barras, Buonaparte wedded the widow of Alexander Beauharnois, who had, since the murder of her husband, in the time of Robespierre, exchanged with Barras complaisance for protection, and who brought her new husband, as a portion, the command over the army in Italy.

The military talents of Buonaparte were not unknown to, or undervalued by, the Allies; but their armies in Italy were not put on a footing sufficiently respectable to encounter those of the Republic; they were vastly inferior in number, and of different nations: Austrians, Italians, Sardinians, Neapolitans, Swiss, and Tuscans, all divided among themselves by national jealousies, instigated or kept up by French emissaries. Buonaparte's troops were both numerous and united, and mostly composed of veterans and warriors instructed in the school of Pichegru, and by him

accus-

accustomed to order, bravery, discipline, and victory.

Influenced by the persuasion of the Court of Vienna, the King of Sardinia had, during the winter, refused advantageous proposals of peace and neutrality, and the still more tempting offer of the gift of the Milanese, if he would join the French. The Emperor, in return, had engaged that his troops in Italy should be augmented to sixty thousand, and General Beaulieu was induced to take the command by a similar promise; but, to the great disappointment both of his Sardinian Majesty and the Austrian General, when the campaign was on the eve of commencing, the Emperor had only been able to give half the promised reinforcement; and General d'Argenteau, whose treachery was suspected, and whose misconduct had occasioned many of the disasters of the late campaign, was not recalled, but still left to command, according to his rank, the right of the army.

Hostilities began early in April; at which period the French had eighty-five thousand, and the Allies sixty-five thousand men. After making feints along the whole extent of the Col di Tende, the Republicans spread a report of their

intention to seize Genoa; and ten or twelve thousand men, under General La Harpe, pushed forward to St. Pierre d'Arena, a suburb of the city. General Beaulieu, setting out from Alexandria to oppose them, took post in the front of the defile of the Bochetta, and caused a strong detachment to advance to the gates of Genoa. The chiefs of the government endeavoured to collect troops for the defence of their independence; but there, as in all other places which the Republican satellites approached, the internal danger of insurrection, from the prevalence of French principles, was far more alarming than even the terror of violence without.

The Austrian commander, perceiving that the French became daily more formidable, on the 10th of April, 1796, prepared a judicious plan of general attack; in which his operations were combined with those of General Colli, who then commanded the Piedmontese troops; but, deserting soon after, he was made, and is yet, a general in the French army; and the success in execution depended in a great measure on him, and on the conduct of another suspicious character, d'Argenteau. Beaulieu's presence forced Colli to be successful; but d'Argenteau, who was to storm an intrenched position, consisting of three

great

great redoubts, was, as might be expected, repulsed at the first two, and did not arrive at the last, situated on Montenotte, till the day closed. Rampon, the French general who commanded it, received reinforcements during the night, and dispersed them in the neighbouring woods; d'Argenteau, treacherously or incautiously advancing, was assailed on all sides, and put to the route. Unwilling to remain longer, or fearing that he should no longer be able to resist the French, he wrote to Colonel Vuckassowich to join him with three or four thousand men; *but, by an astonishing* INADVERTENCE, *dated his letter erroneously, and appointed the succours a day later than he intended.* In the mean time Buonaparte, having reinforced his right, and ordered La Harpe to advance between Generals Beaulieu and d'Argenteau, marched forward by the valley of Tanaro and the heights of Savona, to turn the right of the Austrians, and separate them from General Colli. This attempt was crowned with success, and victory remained with the French, who took possession of Carcara, and established themselves on the heights surrounding Cairo.

On the 14th the Republicans, rapidly advancing, forced the weakened and betrayed Im-

perialists to risk another general engagement at Montelezino, in which they again essayed their former manœuvre with success, and put d'Argenteau to flight. Colonel Vuckassowich, unexpectedly coming up with the men who had been applied for, gained considerable temporary advantages, and might even have turned the fate of the day; but d'Argenteau took no means to rally his troops, and Vuckassowich was obliged, after maintaining an honourable conflict, to retire with great loss. In his precipitate retreat on the 12th, d'Argenteau *had forgotten* a detached corps under Lieutenant-general Provera; and this officer did not learn the defeat of the Allies till he saw the Republicans advancing against him. He was prevented from retreating to the Austrians by a sudden swell of the Bormida, and therefore retired, without provisions or water, to a high mountain, where for two days he defended himself with incredible valour against the assault of the whole French army, repulsing them with dreadful carnage, killing two and wounding one of their general officers, and surrendering at last only through fatigue and famine.

Though the battle of Montelezino had greatly weakened the communication between the Austrian and Piedmontese armies, *they made no combined*

bined movement to approach each other and contract their line. Buonaparte gained the opportunity of placing himself between them, and forcing the Piedmontese to act separately. They were on the 14th attacked in their intrenched camp; and, *though they repulsed the assailants, General Colli found it necessary to abandon their position the ensuing day*, and place them between the conflux of the rivers Tanaro and Cursaglia, where, for four days more, they resisted the efforts of the Republicans to dislodge them. The French, however, having, as might be expected, crossed the Tanaro, Colli retreated towards Mondovi, but was overtaken and defeated at Vico; and Mondovi, the same evening, fell into the hands of the enemy.

The Piedmontese army, being thus entirely separated from the Austrians, took a good defensive position behind the Stura, calculated to prevent the irruption of the French into Piedmont; but the King of Sardinia, advised by his *faithful* counsellors, and fearful of risking his crown on the uncertain issue of a battle, obtained an armistice at the expence of the fortresses of Coni, Ceva, and Tortona, and the town of Alexandria; several important permissions were besides extorted by Buonaparte, and conceded to

the Republicans, particularly those of remaining masters of all the country on the right bank of the Tanaro, of crossing the Po below the town of Valenza, and passing freely through the territories of the King of Sardinia. This armistice was succeeded by a treaty of peace with the French republic; but within eighteen months afterwards he was dethroned by the French Republicans, after having in vain endured their repeated plunder, insults, and threats.

As this campaign began Buonaparte's *military glory*, particulars have been related to an extent, otherwise not corresponding with the plan of this sketch, but necessary to prove, that treason, accompanied with superior forces, some ability, and great audacity and fortune, have laid its principal basis; and that if d'Argenteau and Colli had done their duty as generals and subjects, Buonaparte might yet have had to establish his reputation as a warrior and commander; but, situated as he was, any chief, even not possessing his talents, or not so much favoured by numbers and fortune, might have done as great things with more generosity and less cruelty.

From this period, until the peace of Campo Formio, Buonaparte marched from success to success, from victory to victory, owing more to

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the continual inferiority of the Austrians, to the want of vigour in their councils, and of capacity in their generals in the field, than to the courage and brilliant manœuvres of the French commander.

Buonaparte, among his other exploits, terrified most of the princes and states of Italy into a deceitful peace; obtained great sacrifices in money for *protection* and *neutrality*; and afterwards plundered in mass the subjects, and proscribed the sovereigns, of those protected and neutral countries.

Without generosity, and often without opposition, he vanquished, and without faith he always negotiated. Perfidy and ferocity were interwoven with his olive branches of peace, as well as with his laurels of victory—laurels stained with the blood not of an enemy conquered or defeated, but with that of deluded neutrals and friends, disarmed as well as deceived.

By proclaiming Lombardy a republic, he destroyed its former liberty; and in making its inhabitants citizens of a commonwealth, he prepared for them perpetual fetters. The *neutral* republic of Genoa lost its independence, trade, and prosperity, with its former name and constitution; and the present Ligurian government reigns only

over the ruins of former Genoa. After having plundered Venice, another neutral, and the most ancient of all modern republics, of its immense treasures, its monuments of arts, and its navy, and butchered fifteen thousand of its best citizens, Buonaparte exchanged it with, and gave it up to form some new provinces under the Austrian monarchy. The *neutral* Tuscany was invaded and pillaged by him; but in 1796, Austria was not yet weakened enough to endure, nor Buonaparte powerful enough to dare to create, a Spanish prince king over an Austrian province: this remained to be done when he had attained the climax of perfidy and power.

The Duke of Modena paid millions to Buonaparte for the neutrality of his dominions, and to obtain the guarantee of the French Republic for their integrity. But the French General, after pocketing the money, continued to treat Modena as a conquered country; and by his advice, within six months after this treaty of peace, neutrality, and guarantee, the French government incorporated this dutchy with the Cisalpine Republic, and the Duke of Modena died an exile in Germany. *Without being at war*, the Pope was forced to conclude a peace with Buonaparte, and to give up some of his most valuable provinces

to augment the departments of the Corsican's newly-formed republic; and, two years afterwards, the Pope died a prisoner in France, after having seen the wretchedness of his subjects, and the ruin of his country with that of his government. The King of Naples made numerous pecuniary and other sacrifices to obtain peace and neutrality; but French intrigues and conspirators were more dangerous than French soldiers. When France was no longer an enemy, its emissaries perverted the loyalty of his subjects; and fourteen months of French friendship obliged his Sicilian Majesty (to avoid the destiny of the Pope) to fly from his capital, and be indebted to an English fleet for his safety, for his throne, and for his life.

In such a manner did Buonaparte act, and such were some of the consequences of his victories over, and his negotiations with, most of the powers in Italy, whom French ambition treated as enemies, French cupidity received as friends, and French treachery weakened, ruined, or annihilated. When a man is destitute of every sentiment of common justice, generosity, and liberality; has no political faith or honour, and no religious principles, he must be as unfeeling, barbarous, and tyrannical over his countrymen,

and those immediately under his command and disposal, as he has been base and cruel with foreigners and strangers*.

In the opinions of the inconsistent and degenerated French republicans, as well as in those of some people in other countries, the conqueror of Italy had erased the crimes of the murderer at Toulon and at Paris: but that a vicious nature does not change with fortune, nor a depraved character with public opinion, the following letter, written in 1797 by a French general, and transmitted to this country by an ambassador of one of the powers allied to the French Republic, will prove. Its original will be found in No. 101 of "*Paris pendant l'Année* 1797." Its republication at present adds new conviction to what has already been affirmed; it identifies the *Hero* of 1797 with the *Consul* of 1803; and serves to establish more firmly the truth of those atrocities of which the Corsican has been publicly accused, both before and since the time at which it was written.

"Escaped at last from the long and cruel fatigues of the most murderous of wars, I am just arrived from the army of Italy, after being lamed for life at the battle of Arcola. I have paid the deb

* See the History of the Campaign in 1796.

debt of gratitude which I owed to my country; I have given her proofs of my zeal and of my love, and have sealed them with my blood. Become an invalid in the bloom of youth, and no longer able to fight in her service, I am entitled to her protection. In her bosom have I sought an asylum; and no longer able to serve her with an arm paralysed by the steel of the enemy, I nevertheless devote to her a heart which adores her, and a holy boldness in denouncing to her (I will not say abuses, that would be too cold an expression, but) deeds of atrocity, at which Nero himself would have blushed, and which Suetonius would not have dared to impute to that monster.

" Believe me, I do not dispute the great military talents of Buonaparte; his successes speak for themselves. But what I contend for is, that Buonaparte is the most dangerous of all the French citizens; that Buonaparte is a citizen in the manner of Cæsar; that it is in the manner of Cæsar that he loves equality: and that it is with all the contempt which Cæsar entertained for the senate of Rome, that Buonaparte speaks of the government of France. For the truth of my assertion, I appeal to all who are in the habit of being constantly about his person.

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He is Gustavus in the midst of battle; but, like Gustavus, he pants for a throne and a crown, not to set it upon the head of this or that prince, but to place it upon his own.

"The most violent satraps of the great king had less power, and certainly less insolence and less vanity, than Buonaparte has given proofs of during his campaigns in Italy.

"These are facts of the greatest notoriety. I only relate what all have seen, what every general has heard, and what all are ready to depose whenever they are called on by the Directory, with the exception of a wretch of the name of *Le Clerc** (the slave of Robespierre), of *Rusca*, a drinker of blood and a shameless robber, and of a few brigands of the same stamp.

"Ardently do I hope that some one more skilful than myself will furnish the public with a detail of the atrocities committed by Buonaparte: they exceed all possible belief! I call upon every true Frenchman, now at the head of our armies in Italy, to save their country and their fellow-citizens, and to declare to the Directory what they know of the facts which I am

* This wretch afterwards married the Corsican's sister, and was sent with the command of the army to St. Domingo, where he *paid the forfeit* of his crimes.

am about to denounce. I call too upon the Directory, to interrogate the best generals in the army. Guarantee them but from the *poniard* of Buonaparte; then will they speak out, and this is what they will depose:

"Buonaparte, besides the contributions which he levies, exacts also enormous sums for himself, and appropriates to his own use as much of the spoliation of the countries that he has devasted as suits his convenience; this money is lodged in the hands of several bankers at Genoa, Leghorn, and Venice. Very considerable sums also have been sent into Corsica.

"Buonaparte is at once the vainest and the most impudent of mortals. But he unites the vanity of a child with the atrocity of a demon.

"I say—(and it is what twenty thousand men know without daring to say it, but what all will say, now that, like another Curtius, I throw myself into the gulf, for the safety of my brethren in arms)—I say, that in no age, and under no tyrant, have crimes more enormous been committed, than those which are daily perpetrated under the direction and authority of Buonaparte.

"Will it be credited, that in the hospitals

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appropriated to the sick and wounded, the surgeons devoted to Buonaparte have *a constant order*, as soon as they see a sick soldier past recovery, or one whose incurable wounds will render him no longer of use to the service, to set a mark upon his bed; which fatal mark announces to the attendants that this victim *is to be carried away with the dead!* He is accordingly thrown into a waggon appointed to remove the dead bodies to the grave, and is generally *strangled* or *smothered!* But, notwithstanding these precautions, as the carriages move along to the place of interment, the cries and groans of the unfortunate men about to be *buried alive* may be distinctly heard on all sides! To this horrible fact I have myself been an eye-witness, as well as to what I am going to relate.

"In the month of July 1797, after an action which took place near Salo, on the Lac de Guarda, Buonaparte gave orders that, *not only the dead, but the dying and wounded, should be buried!* The wretched victims were placed upon five waggons, and at midnight were dragged to an enormous ditch, and precipitated therein. The cries of the living being distinctly heard, the monsters threw down eight loads of burning lime upon them, which, falling upon the undressed

dressed wounds of the poor victims, caused them to send forth such piercing moans, that the virtuous curate of Salo, seized with horror at the transaction, died in consequence of the affright!

"Such are the atrocities to which I have been an eye-witness, and which I denounce to all men and to all ages! If the Directory wish to be satisfied as to the truth of my assertions, they have it in their power to be so. I do not sign my name to this letter, as I am not desirous of being assassinated before the examination of the crimes that I have denounced can take place. I call upon the Directory to verify the facts; and, that done, I will immediately present myself before them as a witness. In the mean time, I shall make myself known to Rewbel."

This letter speaks for itself, and if Rewbel did not denounce or punish Buonaparte at that time, it was because he had shared with him some of his plunder of Italy; and that the Corsican was, besides, necessary to the revolution which Rewbel, Barras, and la Reveilliere prepared, and which actually took place on the 4th of September, 1797.

Nearly at the same period when Buonaparte committed, or ordered to be committed, these enor-

enormities, he dispatched a letter to the Archduke Charles, with proposals for a termination of hostilities, couched in terms of the most impudent hypocrisy as to his own sentiments, and insult as to the conduct of Great Britain. "As for me, General (said Buonaparte), *if the overture which I have the honour to make to you can save the life of a* SINGLE *man, I shall pride myself more upon the civic crown which my* CONSCIENCE *will tell me I shall thus have deserved, than upon the melancholy glory which arises from military success.*" What a heart must that man have, who coldly speculates upon sufferings and destruction, by commanding, with a cruel indifference, the burial *alive* of his wounded soldiers! What barefaced impudence must he possess, and how great must his contempt have been, both for the prince to whom he wrote, and for mankind in general, to dare to talk of a conscience, and to make use of expressions of tenderness and humanity, whilst acting as the most profoundly perverted and atrocious of all tyrants, either ancient or modern! But such has been the hypocritical and deceitful jargon of all revolutionary heroes. Demons in their minds, sentiments, and behaviour, they were angels in their words. Robespierre spoke of liberty and virtue,

while

while two hundred and fifty thousand families crowded his prisons, and hundreds daily ascended his scaffolds; just as Buonaparte writes of a conscience, when all his actions bid defiance to a divinity as well as to humanity.

During the campaigns in Italy, in 1796 and 1797, military execution was inflicted, and destruction ordered, by Buonaparte, on a number of cities, towns, and villages, and on their unfortunate inhabitants. In July 1796 an insurrection broke out in the city of Pavia, and spread itself in some parts of Lombardy. At Milan, the French bayonets, and the French butcheries, soon *restored order*; but, at Binasco, of eight hundred armed peasants who tried to defend their lives and property against the republican assassins and plunders, two hundred were shot, and this large village entirely burnt to the ground, by the command of Buonaparte. At Pavia, the inhabitants shut their gates against the French troops, who, with their cannon, forced their entrance without losing an individual: Buonaparte, however, condemned the whole municipality to be shot, and two hundred hostages to be sent as prisoners to France. In his public orders to his soldiers, Buonaparte declared, that if a Frenchman had been killed in the attack on

Pavia,

Pavia, his intent was to cause that city to be burnt or demolished, and to erect a column on the spot, with the inscription; *Ici etoit la ville de Pavie.* On the 8th of March 1797, the towns of Macegata, Fermo, Porto di Fermo, Grotto di Mari, and Jesi, were by Buonaparte given up to military execution, and their citizens to plunder and murder. According to the author of *Les Crimes des Republicains en Italie*, printed at Verona in 1799, during sixteen months campaign in Italy, Buonaparte caused twenty-four villages and six towns to be burned, ten thousand and ninety of their inhabitants to be shot, thrown into the fire of their burning dwellings, or drowned. Five thousand and forty-two virgins were ravished, and fourteen thousand six hundred and twenty-six married women were violated. Thirty-two villages, nine towns, and four cities, were laid under military execution, and six hundred and fifty-two thousand of their inhabitants, who escaped death, were reduced to want and beggary*.

The peace of Campo Formio permitted Buonaparte to leave wretched Italy, to return to France, and to prepare the ruin of other countries.

* *See Les* Crimes des Republicains en Italie, p. 493 and 496.

trses. A revolution had a short time before taken place at Paris, and the Republican and Directorial Constitution had been openly violated by the conspiracies, intrigues, and crimes of Buonaparte's friends, backed by the addresses and bayonets of his army in Italy. By the imprisonment or transportation of all loyal men, the very dregs of the jacobins, and of all other former ferocious factions, were become all powerful. Buonaparte was their idol, who could command their daggers as much he possessed their good opinion.

Of all countries not yet cursed with French fraternity, Switzerland was the nearest at hand, and most envied by Buonaparte, on account of the true liberty and real happiness of its inhabitants. The Swiss government had, however, done every thing to please France, and therefore flattered itself with the chimera of having acquired the good will of Buonaparte, and of the French rulers: it bowed when it should have armed, and negotiated when it should have been fighting; like the worshippers of malignant deities, it prostrated itself before him with the offering of its affections, without considering that the only sacrifice which could satisfy him and his associates, was that of the constitution, of the independence, *and of the riches* of Switzerland.

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That this was really the case, Buonaparte undertook in Italy to convince even the most incredulous; and by writing the *sentence of neutral states on the ruins of Genoa and Venice*, he divulged to Europe the mysteries of his own political faith, as well as that of present and future French republican rulers. Such effrontery and perfidy, an hypocrisy so dastardly combined with such barefaced usurpations, announced the dissolution of every social system.

A revolutionist by constitution, a conqueror by subordination, cruel and unjust by instinct, insulting in victory, mercenary in his patronage, an inexorable plunderer and murderer, bribed by the victims whose credulity he betrays, as terrible by his artifices as by his arms, dishonouring valour by ferocity, and by the *studied abuse* of public faith, crowning immorality with the palms of philosophy, covering tyranny and atheism with the cloak of religion, and oppression with the cap of liberty; this fortunate Corsican, carrying the torch of Erostratus in one hand, and the sabre of Genseric in the other, had already laid the plan for burying Switzerland under the rubbish of Italy. But this sulphureous spreader of havock had not time to carry his plan against Helvetia into execution; certain, however, of its success,

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he was forced to leave it to an old accomplice—to General Brune, a man as worthy to be the confidential friend of Buonaparte, as he had before been of Marat and Robespierre; and the Corsican steered his course towards Africa, in the hope of making that part of the world and Asia as miserable as he had left all the countries of Europe into which his arms or his plots had penetrated.

Before the atrocious and sanguinary tragedy of the reduction of Switzerland was accomplished, treachery and ambition had carried Buonaparte into Egypt, and with him the wretchedness of French fraternity, and the horrors of unprovoked aggression. While the uninformed in France, as well as other countries, were amused by pretences of a powerful preparation for the invasion of England, and Buonaparte went even so far as to swindle monied men out of a loan upon the credit of the plunder of this country; those who examined more considerately the place and manner of equipping the armament, were satisfied that its destination was for some other coast, and public expectation had already pointed out that of Egypt. It was so secret, that, during the monarchy, many projectors, who hoped to recommend themselves by suggesting extensive enter-

enterprises, had lodged, as far back as in the time of Louis XIV., in the offices of different ministers, projects for the subjugation of Egypt; but the old government, having always some regard to appearances, and some consideration for the lives of the people, had not ventured to patronize an undertaking, which could not be achieved without the infamy of assailing the dominions of an ancient and unprovoking ally, and the probable sacrifice of a great portion of the army in conquering a tract of land situated in an untried climate, where privations and diseases of every kind would thin their ranks, and make them execrate the fatal ambition of their rulers. Recent travellers from France had described Egypt in terms widely different from those in which the experience of earlier and more honest ages had depicted it; and the hopes of possessing a land replete with means of colonization and commerce, combined with that of destroying the power of Great Britain in India, were supposed sufficient motives with republican France for the violation of all treaties, and the oblivion of all rights.

Buonaparte was entrusted with the command of this expedition; and in assuming this station, his personal ambition to tread the ground which

had

had been impressed by the victorious footsteps of Alexander and Cæsar, was subservient to the views of the Directory, who hated, feared, and, according to Carnot, were anxious to destroy him. Probably both the rulers and the general were acting with refined artifice and duplicity: they hoped to deprive him of the advantages resulting from the command of an army which he had led *to glory*, by involving that army in a tedious and uncertain expedition; while he, relying on his renown and popularity, and desirous to avoid interfering personally in the transactions of the Congress at Rastadt, which then engaged the attention of all Europe, accepted the command of the expedition, though he intended, as his intercepted letters prove, to accomplish the first part of its destination only, and to return to France in the autumn.

Whatever sagacity might be exerted in conjectures respecting the destination of the French fleet, which, including transports, amounted to upwards of four hundred sail, nothing certain could be learnt: the troops sent for embarkation were called the right wing of the Army of England; but the squadron being assembled in the port of Toulon, and the collection of *Savans*, of printing presses, and various other implements

of science, demonstrated that its destination was for some other country. At length, on the 4th of May, 1798, Buonaparte repaired to Toulon, for the purpose of commanding this far-famed and mysterious expedition; and, as a preparatory measure, published a kind of military harangue, in form of a proclamation, reminding his soldiers of their numerous victories on mountains, in plains, and before fortified places, and that nothing now remained for them to achieve but maritime conquests; they would now, he said, even exceed their former exertions *for the prosperity of their country, the good of mankind*, and their own glory.

On the 19th following, the fleet sailed, and soon arrived off Malta, which the intrigues of France had prepared to surrender. On the nineteenth of June, Buonaparte commenced a farce of provoking hostilities, by demanding permission to water his squadron: an indirect refusal being conveyed, the military were disembarked, and after two days of pretended resistance, a capitulation was signed, yielding the islands of Malta, Gozo, and Cumino, to France. Some ridiculous stipulations were made for obtaining indemnities for the Grand Master at the

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Congress of Rastadt, and for assigning to each of the knights a paltry pension of seven hundred livres (29*l.* sterling). Buonaparté, as usual, accommodated the new acquisition with a constitution on the French model; and, having plundered the island, again proceeded towards his final destination. Before he set sail, however, he put into requisition all Maltese sailors, and one hundred and ten young Maltese knights, all sons or relatives of emigrated French noblemen who were in the army of Condé, or in the Austrian or English service. They were distributed among the republican crews of different ships; and, in the action at Aboukir, many of them were killed or wounded in fighting with men and for a cause which they alike detested. Twenty-two of these unfortunate young men were blown up in the L'Orient, one of whom was a Chevalier de St. Leger, from La Vendée, whose father had been killed in the army of Condé, whose brother was butchered at Quiberon, and whose uncle had been shot as a Chouan.

On the 1st of July, Buonaparte with all his force appeared before Alexandria, being only two days after Lord Nelson had quitted that station. Apprehensive that Fortune might yet desert him, and the English fleet return to frustrate his operations,

rations, Buonaparte hastily effected a landing of about four thousand three hundred men at Marabou. Although this place was only two leagues from Alexandria, the French found no opposition from the natives; not even a piece of artillery was planted for protection. Having subsequently augmented the number landed to upwards of twenty-five thousand, they advanced in platoons against the city, and reached it unopposed, except by a few Mamelukes, who, hovering around, cut off stragglers, and fought a few slight and partial skirmishes.

He began, before any attack was made on Alexandria, by circulating a printed address to his army; in which, after observing that the Romans protected all religions, he requested the soldiery to treat the "Muftis and Imans of Africa *with the same respect* that they had exhibited towards the bishops and rabbins of Europe." He also transmitted three proclamations, prepared beforehand, and dated on board the flag-ship; the first to the Pacha of Egypt, stating, "that he was come *to put an end to the exactions of the Mamelukes;*" and inviting his Highness, in the oriental style, "to *meet* and *curse* along with him the *impious* race of Beys." The second was addressed to the chief of the caravan;

and

and the last to the inhabitants: in this he had the impudence to assert, "that he was come to *rescue the rights of the poor* from the hands of their tyrants;" and added, with his usual hypocritical cant, "that *the Freneh respect*, more than the Mamelukes, *God*, HIS PROPHET, and THE KORAN."

"Cadis, Shieks, Imans, Chirbadgees!" continued he, "tell the people that we are *the friends of true Mussulmen*. Did we not *dethrone the Pope*, who preached that it was necessary to make war against the *true believers?* Did we not *destroy* the Knights of Malta, because *those foolish men* thought that God wished hostilities to be perpetually carried on against those of your faith?" After stating, "that *all towns* and *villages* which might arm against the French *should be burnt*," he commanded every one to remain in his house, *enjoined prayers* to be said as usual, and concluded with "*Glory to the Sultan, Glory to the French army*, HIS FRIENDS, *curses* to the Mamelukes, and *happiness* to the people of Egypt." It is hardly possible to point out any page of ancient or modern history, where impudence is more united with falsehood, deception and imposture with atheism and political treachery. Buonaparte, [illegible] by his

M 5 staff,

staff, headed the advanced guard marching against Alexandria, a defenceless city, the property and possession of one of the most ancient allies of France. General Bonn commanded the column on the right; that in the centre was led by General Kleber; while the rest, under General Menou, proceeded along the sea coast. Alexandria was garrisoned by about five hundred unskilful Janissaries; and the remaining inhabitants, in the forts, and on the tops of houses, waited the attack. It has been asserted, but without any proof, that Alexandria was summoned; but the people answered only by the shouts of the garrison and the inhabitants, and by some cannon shot. The French had not yet landed their ordnance; but the defences of Alexandria were so weak as to forbid all fear. Buonaparte, therefore, bravely gave orders to beat a charge; and the French, advancing towards the walls, prepared to scale them. While the generals and privates were attempting to reach the summit, Kleber received a musket shot in the head, and Menou was thrown back from the parapet, covered with contusions; but the walls were, notwithstanding, soon covered with republicans, while the besieged fled. Here began a scene of horror and carnage, commanded by the

the sanguinary and barbarous policy of Buonaparte, which would hardly be credible, had it not been authenticated by the original letters of the French generals, intercepted by our cruizers, and made public by our government. After the butchery of every person on the walls or in the streets, all houses were forced and entered, and neither age nor sex spared. Trusting to the *proclaimed respect* of Buonaparte for their Prophet, numbers of Mussulmen took refuge in their sacred mosques; but the republicans pursued them with the rage of cannibals: men and women, old and young, children at the breast, all were inhumanly murdered without resistance, as well as without pity; and these bloody transactions lasted four hours; when at last these *improvers of the happiness of mankind*, glutted with massacre, desisted.

From the manner in which the capture of Alexandria by Buonaparte is narrated by persons not interested to impart false impressions, it is beyond a doubt, because it is positively affirmed, that this city was not summoned, in order to found a pretence for storming it, and thus striking terror into the intended victims of Buonaparte's perfidy and barbarity. In an intercepted letter from the French Adjutant-general

Boyer, addressed to General Kilmaine, are the following paragraphs *:—"We began by making an assault upon a place *without any defence*, and garrisoned by about 500 Janissaries, *of whom scarce a man knew how to level a musket.* I allude to Alexandria, a huge and wretched skeleton of a place, *open on every side*, and most certainly very unable to resist the efforss of 25,000 men, who attacked it at the same instant. We lost, notwithstanding, 150 men, *whom we might have preserved by only summoning the town; but it was thought necessary to begin by striking terror into the enemy.*"

Possession of Alexandria having been thus obtained, the French commander, the Corsican Buonaparte, issued another proclamation among the miserable survivors of massacre, augmenting and improving upon his former ones, and which will signalize to all ages his contempt of divine institutions; a proclamation designed, undoubtedly, as a trick to allure the confidence of the natives; but which, whenever viewed impartially, must sink into the most degrading contempt the character of that military adventurer, who, in a piratical pursuit of plunder, not only committed

* See Intercepted Correspondence, vol. i. No. xxi.

ted the most unprincipled barbarities, but voluntarily announced the renunciation of his faith; which, even when done through compulsion, stamps on the delinquent the name of renegado, and is justly considered as the last test of a depraved mind, as devoid of religion, virtue, and integrity, as incapable of honour. In this proclamation, "he expressly denies Jesus Christ;" affirming, "that he himself, his generals, officers, and soldiers, are true professors of Islamism, who adore and honour the prophet Mahomet and his holy Koran;" that "as a Mussulman, he had overturned the throne of the Christian Pope, visited Malta, and drove out the unbelievers from that island."

From this period, until his defeat before Acre, in the spring of 1799, except in some skirmishes which he decorated with the appellation of battles, Buonaparte had no regular enemy to encounter, no armies to combat; some strolling Mamelukes, or Arabs, were his only foes. To judge rightly, therefore, of the bombastic descriptions of his battle of the Pyramids, and others, another passage from the above-quoted letter is useful, and proper to be extracted; as the competency of the writer, a general communicating his sentiments and opinion

other general, cannot be questioned. Its date at Cairo, July 28th, 1798, proves it posterior to all engagements for the possession of Lower Egypt. "Our entrance into Grand Cairo," says General Boyer, will doubtless excite that sensation at home which every extraordinary event is calculated to produce; but when you come to know the kind of enemy that we had to combat, *the little art they employed against us*, and *the perfect nullity of all their measures, our expeditions and our victories will appear to you very common things.* After this (the assault of Alexandria), we marched against the Mamelukes; a people highly celebrated among the Egyptians for their bravery. *This rabble* (I cannot call them soldiers), *which has not the most trifling idea of tactics*, and which *knows nothing of war* but the blood that is spilt in it, appeared, for the first time opposed to our army on the 12th of July.

"From the first dawn of day, they made a general display of their forces, which straggled round and round our army, *like so many cattle*; sometimes galloping, and sometimes pacing, in groups of ten, fifty, a hundred, &c. After some time, they made several attempts, *in a style equally ridiculous* and curious, to break in upon us; but finding

finding every where a resistance which they probably did not expect, they spent the day in keeping us exposed to the fury of a burning sun. *Had we been a little more enterprising this day, I think their fate would have been decided;* but General Buonaparte temporised, that he might make a trial of his enemy, and become acquainted with their manner of fighting.

"This day ended with the retreat of the Mamelukes, *who scarcely lost five and twenty men.* We continued our march up the Nile till the 21st, which was the day that put a final termination to the power of the Mamelukes in Egypt.

"*Four thousand men* on horseback, having each a groom or two, bore down intrepidly *on a numerous army of veterans;* their charge was an act of fury, rage, and despair. They attacked Dessaix and Regnier first. The soldiers of these divisions received them with steadiness, and, at the distance of only ten paces, opened a running fire upon them, which brought down *one hundred and fifty.* They then fell upon Bonn's division, which received them in the same manner. In short, after a number of unavailing efforts, they made off; and, carrying with them all their treasures, took shelter in

Upper Egypt. The fruit of *this victory* was Grand Cairo, where we have been ever since the evening of the 22d."

Not counting those who perished in the massacre at Alexandria, from this official letter we learn, that no more than one hundred and seventy-five enemies were killed by the French in those *brilliant victories with a numerous army of veterans*, over *four thousand inexperienced Mamelukes*, which made them masters of one of the most fertile countries in the world.

At Cairo, Buonaparte mingled the toils necessary for the maintenance of his situation with those exhibitions and pursuits which were calculated to captivate the people of France, by accounts of their own systems and manners extending themselves to new regions; while the people of the country were to be at once astonished, terrified, and overawed, the rigour of military discipline, the privation of every species of liberty and property, the violation of females, and the disarming of the natives, were accompanied by pretexts of paying devoted homage to Mahomet; and this degrading hypocrisy was carried to such an extent, that Buonaparte himself, after issuing several profane and ridiculous proclama-

ts, was not unfrequently distinguished by the name

name of ALI. Besides the mingled and absurd forms of French revolutionary jurisprudence, with their concomitant buffooneries and disguises, the people of Egypt witnessed with astonishment, efforts to counteract their very natures, to bring into subjection the fierce and uncontrollable Mameluke, fix the wandering and independent Arab, and urge into activity the indolent and uninquisitive Copt. Under pretext of augmenting the produce of commerce and agriculture, all sorts of property, and the produce of every species of industry, were laid at the mercy of the rapacious French; who, while in possession of all that the land could afford, were yet in want of most necessaries, and who extended far and wide the reign of misery, without being able to rescue themselves from its oppressive grasp.

While to occupy the officers and soldiers, fortifications were ordered to be constructed at Salahich, Balbeis, Rosetta, and Damietta, establishments were formed which gave employment to the numerous corps of *Savans* who attended the army. An institution was formed at Cairo, on the model of that at Paris; a library was *collected from the plunder of those of Europe*; and a chemical laboratory was erected, as well for general purposes, as for the more peculiar motive

of purifying saltpetre, to furnish the army with gunpowder. Hydraulic machines were constructed, and even established, to relieve the wants of the soldiery; nor was it forgotten to give them the means of drowning their cares, by extracting from the date a strong liquor, similar in its effects to brandy. These operations, except the structure of ovens, were more fitted to captivate the imagination than to satisfy the judgment. Libraries and laboratories, saltpetre and brandy, were slender consolations to men who saw their clothes perishing, without a possibility of their being restored; for no art was found to manufacture broad-cloth, and the army began to fear that they were doomed to absolute nakedness. What comfort could the lectures of the National Institute, or the declamations of tragedians, some few hours presence in an academy or at a play-house, afford to men, in whose minds curiosity was extinguished by distress, and to whose hearts no other sentiment could find a passage, than an ardent and uncontrollable desire to revisit their native shores, from which they were destined, as they conceived, to hopeless exile?

In this state, nothing but eager exertion could

prevent

prevent total languor; and therefore every circumstance which could excite inquiry, or afford a pretext for pompous exhibition, or which had an appearance of promoting science, or preserving a worthy memorial of the expedition, was eagerly embraced.

At the period of the inundation of the Nile, Buonaparte, with accustomed pomp, made the cut in the dyke which conveys the water to Cairo; and the flow into the canal of Alexandria presented an opportunity, which was judiciously seized by Kleber, of transporting the artillery by water to Gizeh. General Andreossy sounded the Pelusian mouths of the Nile, the roads of Damietta, the Boghass, and Cape Boyau, as well as the Dibeh mouth; entered the Lake Menzaleh, where he overcame the resistance of the Arabs, who opposed him with a hundred and thirty of the Egyptian craft, called *dgermes*; constructed a map of the Lake, and measured with the chain the circumference of the coast, over an extent of forty-five thousand fathoms; determined the bearings of the islands, and discovered the ruins of Tinch, of the ancient Pelusium, and of Farama. Having performed this operation, he returned to Cairo; and speedily

set out, attended by the *savan* Berthollet, to survey the Lakes of Natron, where he acquitted himself with the same diligence and success.

All the other *Savans* who accompanied Buonaparte, were engaged in pursuits of greater or lesser importance, according to their powers: some ascertained points in geography, surveyed canals, and made drawings of buildings and monuments; others made collections and investigations for natural history, *constructed windmills, arranged almanacks*, and even composed a journal.

During these transactions, General Dessaix, in pursuance of the directions of Buonaparte, waged an active and prosperous war against Mourad Bey, in Upper Egypt; although his enterprise was as dangerous as his proceedings were sanguinary.

It is impossible to ascertain how far the people had been deceived by Buonaparte's hypocrisy, into an opinion that he was *the friend of their Sovereign*, and a *zealous proselyte* to their religion; but on the 21st of October, 1798, immediately on the appearance of the *firman* declaring him an enemy to the Porte, an insurrection broke out, though without any apparent plan or system of operation. The assembling of the people, their

their discourse, and their menaces, excited neither curiosity nor apprehension, till they began to attack and plunder the dwellings of the French. The principal meeting was before a mosque; and General Dupuy, advancing at the head of a small troop to disperse them, was slain, with all his followers: a few French were killed in the streets; but on the beating of the *generale* the main body flew to arms; the streets were soon cleared; the people took refuge in their mosques, the doors of which Buonaparte ordered to be forced, and the buildings fired; an immense and indiscriminate slaughter followed; *friends and foes were alike exterminated*, to glut the vindictive fury of the republicans: the horrible illumination, occasioned by the burning of part of the city; the firing of artillery from the citadel, the screams and groans of people of all *classes, sexes, and ages, begging in vain for quarter*, and the furious shouts by which the French rallied and encouraged each other, formed a combination of horrors, which, in modern warfare, seldom occurs. Quarter was at last tardily and reluctantly granted by Buonaparte; the city recovered a gloomy tranquillity: but the most ferocious and rigorous measures were pursued for preventing future insurrections.

This

This event occurred before Buonaparte had made his survey of the Isthmus of Suez; and while he was engaged in that research, he learned that Dgezzar Pacha had seized and fortified the fort of El-Arish, and received such further intelligence as left him no longer in doubt of the hostile intentions of the Porte. Pursuing his accustomed policy, of assailing his opponents before they could become strong by union, and formidable by preparation, Buonaparte arranged, without loss of time, a plan for attacking Dgezzar, setting apart for that purpose twelve thousand men, well supported with such artillery as could be transported according to exigency. He divided this force into five columns, under Kleber, Regnier, Lasnes, Bonn, and Murat; and, having instructed his admiral, Perée, to embark heavy artillery on board three frigates for Jaffa, and taken precautions for securing the tranquillity of Cairo, prepared to head the expedition himself. Before his departure, hypocrisy, apostacy, atheism, and fanaticism, were again resorted to, as political measures to keep the ignorant natives quiet and submissive. The inhabitants of the capital, if not more loyal, had, since the late butchery, become more obedient to their new *chief*, who endeavoured to deceive and rule them

by

by means of their prejudices; and, for this purpose, not only recurred *to the doctrine of fatality*, but wished to *instil a belief of his immediate intercourse with the divinity*. In an address to the "Cherifs, Imans, and Orators of the Mosque," Buonaparte enjoined them to inculcate in the minds of the people, "that those who became his enemies *should find no refuge either in this world or the next*."

"Is there a man so blind," says he, "as not to see that *all my operations are conducted by destiny?* Instruct the inhabitants, that ever since the world has existed, it was written, that after having overcome the enemies of Islamism, and *destroyed the Cross*, I should come from the furthest parts of the west to fulfil the task which has been imposed upon me. Make them see, that, in the second book of the Koran, in more than twenty passages, that which has happened was foreseen, and that which shall take place has also been explained; let those, then, whom the fear of *our* arms alone prevents from pronouncing imprecations, now change their dispositions; for in offering prayers to heaven against *us*, they solicit their own condemnation; let the true believers then present vows for *our* success: *I could call to account each individual among you*

for

for the most secret sentiments of his heart; for I know every thing, even that which you never communicated to any person; and the day will come when all the world shall witness, that, *as I act in consequence of orders from above,* human efforts are of no avail against me."

After this sacrilegious farce, he prepared to set set out for Syria. In addition to the already mentioned generals, Daumartin was appointed to command the artillery, and General Caffarelli to superintend the engineers; after which he gave orders for the troops to commence their march.

On the 10th of February, 1799, Buonaparte left Cairo for El-Arish, which, notwithstanding the advantages of its situation, made but a feeble defence. Regnier and Kleber had taken the village, and blockaded the fort, before the arrival of Buonaparte, who, after a short cannonade, on the 25th following, compelled the garrison to surrender, on condition of retiring to Bagdat, and through the Desert. Having left Regnier's division to fortify and secure this conquest, which is considered the key of Egypt, the French marched through the Desert to attack Gaza. The Mamelukes constantly retreated before them, and the inhabitants of the city, at their approach,

on the 28th, sent deputies to meet and offer them unmolested possession. This peaceful surrender was peculiarly fortunate for Buonaparte and his troops, whose convoys of provisions from Cathieh had not been able to keep up with him; as they found in Gaza sixteen thousand pounds of powder, a great quantity of cartouches and ammunition, and some artillery, besides a hundred thousand rations of biscuit, rice, tents, and a large supply of barley. Buonaparte spent two days in the civil and military organization, as he called it, of the place, forming a divan of the principal inhabitants; and then prosecuted his route toward Jaffa.

The way to this town, anciently called Joppa, is across an immense plain, covered with hillocks of moving sand, which the cavalry traversed with difficulty, and the camels slowly and painfully proceeded; and for about three leagues it was necessary to treble the teams to the artillery. Hordes of Arabs hovered round the army, without, however, doing any injury; and the advanced guard, under Kleber, reached the town on the third day.

Jaffa was found to be surrounded by a wall without ditches, flanked by good towers mounting cannon. Two forts defended the port and

the road, and it appeared well armed. The garrison having retired within the place, the main attack was made on the south side. The whole army having come up, and batteries being established, a practicable breach was soon effected, and on the 7th of March the town was taken by assault.

As the efforts of impudence, and sophistry of rebellion, have been employed in indirect denials, or futile palliations, of the many atrocious deeds committed by Buonaparte in this city and in its neighbourhood, an extract from the work of an author, as able as loyal, as instructive as an historian as brave and distinguished as a warrior, will silence the factious, convince the dubious, and exhibit to present and future ages in his true character, a man who, to the eternal disgrace of the French nation, after murdering, drowning, and poisoning several thousand French soldiers and citizens, is suffered to remain the cruel unrestrained tyrant over thirty millions of Frenchmen.

" General Hutchinson was very angry with the Turks for still continuing the practice of mangling and cutting off the heads of the prisoners; and the Captain Pacha, at his remonstrance, issued again very severe orders against

it,

it; but the Turks justified themselves for the massacre of the French by the massacre at Jaffa. As this act, and the poisoning of the sick, have never been credited, because of such enormities being so incredibly atrocious, a digression to authenticate them may not be deemed intrusively tedious; and had not the influence of power interfered, the act of accusation would have been preferred in a more solemn manner, and the damning proofs produced by penitent agents of these murders; but neither menaces, recompense, nor promises, can altogether stifle the cries of outraged humanity, and the day for the retribution of justice is only delayed.

"Buonaparte having carried the town of Jaffa by assault, many of the garrison were put to the sword; but the greater part flying into the mosques, and imploring mercy from their pursuers, were granted their lives; and let it be well remembered, that an exasperated army in the moment of revenge, when the laws of war justified their rage, yet heard the voice of pity, received its impression, and proudly refused to be any longer the executioners of an unresisting enemy. Soldiers of the Italian army, this is a laurel wreath worthy of your fame, a trophy of

which

the subsequent treason of an individual shall not deprive you!

"Three days afterwards Buonaparte, who had expressed much resentment at the compassion manifested by his troops, and determined to relieve himself from the maintenance and care of three thousand eight hundred prisoners *, ordered them to be marched to a rising ground near Jaffa, where a division of French infantry formed against them. When the Turks had entered into their fatal alignment, and the mournful preparations were completed, the signal gun fired. Vollies of musquetry and grape instantly played against them; and Buonaparte, who

* "Buonaparte had in person previously inspected the whole body, amounting to near five thousand men, with the object of saving those who belonged to the towns that he was preparing to attack. The age and noble physiognomy of a veteran Janissary attracted his observation, and he asked him sharply, 'Old man, what did you do here?' The Janissary, undaunted, replied, 'I must answer that question by asking you the same; your answer will be, that you came to serve your Sultan; so did I mine.' The intrepid frankness of the reply excited universal interest in his favour. Buonaparte even smiled—'He is saved,' whispered some of the aides-de-camps. 'You know not Buonaparte,' observed one who had served with him in Italy—'that smile, I speak from experience, does not proceed from the sentiment of benevolence; remember what I say.' The opinion was too true. The Janissary was left in the ranks doomed to death, and suffered."

who had been regarding the scene through a telescope, when he saw the smoke ascending, could not restrain his joy, but broke out into exclamations of approval; indeed, he had just reason to dread the refusal of his troops thus to dishonour themselves. Kleber had remonstrated in the most strenuous manner, and the officers of the Etat Major who commanded (for the general to whom the division belonged was absent), even refused to execute the order without a written instruction; but Buonaparte was too cautious, and sent Berthier to enforce obedience.

"When the Turks had all fallen, the French troops humanely endeavoured to put a period to the sufferings of the wounded; but some time elapsed before the bayonet could finish what the fire had not destroyed, and probably many languished days in agony. Several French officers, by whom partly these details are furnished, declared that this was a scene, the retrospect of which tormented their recollection, and that they could not reflect on it without horror, accustomed as they had been to sights of cruelty.

"These were the prisoners whom Assalini, in his very able work on the plague, alludes to,

when he says, that for three days the Turks shewed no symptoms of that disease, and it was their putrifying remains which produced the pestilential malady, which he describes as afterwards making such ravages in the French army.

" Their bones still lie in heaps, and are shewn to every traveller who arrives: nor can they be confounded with those who perished in the assault, since this field of butchery lies a mile from the town.

" Such a fact should not, however, be alleged without some proof, or leading circumstance stronger than assertion, being produced to support it; but there would be a want of generosity in naming individuals, and branding them to the latest posterity with infamy, for obeying a command, when their submission became an act of necessity, since the whole army did not mutiny against the execution; therefore, to establish further the authenticity of the relation, this only can be mentioned, that it was Bonn's division which fired, and thus every one is afforded an opportunity of satisfying themselves respecting the truth, by inquiring of officers serving in the different brigades composing this division.

" The next circumstance is of a nature which requires indeed the most particular details to establish,

establish, since the idea can scarcely be entertained, that the commander of an army should order his own countrymen (or if not immediately such, those amongst whom he had been naturalized) to be deprived of existence, when in a state which required the kindest consideration. But the annals of France record the frightful crimes of a Robespierre, a Carriere; and historical truth must now recite one equal to any which has blackened its page.

"Buonaparte, finding that his hospitals at Jaffa were crowded with sick, sent for a physician, whose name should be inscribed in letters of gold, but which, for weighty reasons, cannot be here inserted: on his arrival he entered into a long conversation with him respecting the danger of contagion, concluding at last with the remark, that something must be done to remedy the evil, and that the destruction of the sick at present in the hospital was the only measure which could be adopted. The physician, alarmed at the proposal, bold in the confidence of virtue and the cause of humanity, remonstrated vehemently, representing the cruelty as well as the atrocity of such a murder; but finding that Buonaparte persevered and menaced, he indignantly left the tent, with this memorable observation: 'Nei-

ther my principles, nor the character of my profession, will allow me to become a human butcher; and, General, if such qualities as you insinuate are necessary to form a great man, I thank my God that I do not possess them.'

"Buonaparte was not to be diverted from his object by moral considerations; he persevered, and found an apothecary who (dreading the weight of power, but who since has made an atonement to his mind by unequivocally confessing the fact) consented to become his agent, and to administer poison to the sick. Opium at night was distributed in gratifying food; the wretched unsuspecting victims banqueted; and in a few hours five hundred and eighty soldiers, who had suffered so much for their country, perished thus miserably by the order of its idol.

"Is there a Frenchman whose blood does not chill with horror at the recital of such a fact! Surely the manes of these murdered unoffending people must be now hovering round the seat of government, and .....

"If a doubt should still exist as to the veracity of this statement, let the Members of the Institute at Cairo be asked what passed in their sitting after the return of Buonaparte from Syria: they will relate, that the same virtuous phy-

physician who refused to become the destroyer of those committed to his protection, accused Buonaparte in the full assembly of high treason against the honour of France, her children, and humanity; that he entered into the full details of the poisoning of the sick, and the massacre of the garrison, aggravating these crimes by charging Buonaparte with strangling previously, at Rosetta, a number of French and Copts, who were ill of the plague; thus proving that this disposal of his sick was a premeditated plan, which he wished to introduce into general practice*. In vain Buonaparte attempted to justify himself; the members sat petrified with terror, and almost doubted whether the scene passing before

* "Buonaparte pleaded, that he ordered the garrison to be destroyed, because he had not provisions to maintain them, or strength enough to guard them; and that it was evident if they escaped they would act against the French, since among the prisoners were five hundred of the garrison of El-Arish, who had promised not to serve again (they had been compelled, in passing through Jaffa, by the commandant to serve); and that he destroyed the sick to prevent contagion, and save themselves from falling into the hands of the Turks. But these arguments, however specious, were refuted directly, and Buonaparte was at last obliged to rest his defence on the positions of Machiavel. When he afterwards left Egypt, the Savans were so angry at being left behind, contrary to promise, that they elected the physician President of the Institute; an act which spoke for itself fully."

before their eyes was not illusion. Assuredly all these proceedings will not be found in the minutes of the Institute; no, Buonaparte's policy foresaw the danger, and power produced the erasure. But let no man, calculating on the force of circumstances, which may prevent such an avowal as is solicited, presume on this to deny the whole; there are records which remain, and which in due season will be produced. In the interim, this representation will be sufficient to stimulate inquiry; and, Frenchmen, your honour is indeed interested in the examination.

" Let us hope also, that in no country will there be found another man of such Machiavelian principles, as by sophistry to palliate those transactions; nor must the judgment abuse itself by bringing to recollection the horrors of the French Revolution, and thus diminishing the force of those crimes by the frequency of equal guilt in France, during her contest for *Liberty or Slavery**."

Besides

* " An anecdote, after what has been said against, should however be related, as a proof of the commanding genius of Buonaparte, and will be told as repeated by a Frenchman of high consideration. ' Buonaparte, notwithstanding his successes and *fame*, was considered by those who knew him best, as not in himself.

Besides these detestable barbarities, the stay of the French at Jaffa was distinguished by their accustomed violence and rapacity; the pillage of the

self possessing the great qualities ascribed to him. We regarded him as indebted more to an extraordinary peculiar good fortune, forcing irresistible circumstances to his advantage, than to his own abilities and exertions. After his disasters and repulse at Acre, our opinion was confirmed, and we expected to see him return dejected, conscious of disgrace, his shame aggravated by the recollection of having sent a messenger with a dispatch, and which was read in the Institute, in which he expressed himself, "In three days I shall be in Acre; when you open this, be assured that Dgezzar Pacha is no more." The day before he entered Cairo, we received orders, to our astonishment, to prepare illuminations, triumphal arches, &c. for honour to the conquerors of Syria, and of Dgezzar Pacha. The troops, who had despondingly anticipated a different reception, whose murmurs against the man who had planned their expedition amounted to mutiny, whose expressions even menaced death to him, as an atonement for their seven thousand comrades who had perished, saw with surprise the honours paid to them; heard their chief and themselves styled conquerors; and, in the delirium of vanity, forgot their injuries and defeats. The next morning Buonaparte, assured of the intoxication still continuing, assembled his army on parade, distributed rewards, then moved forwards a battalion of grenadiers, whom he upbraided with having refused to make another assault on Acre, and sentenced them to carry their arms slung behind till their character was retrieved. It was then, said the narrator, that we pronounced Buonaparte really a great man. We confessed his knowledge of human nature, who in a few hours could so improve his situation, and reassume his influence, as to disgrace those very men, who the day before would, with the applause of their comrades (now approving of their dishonour), had he uttered a word of censure, have instantly assassinated him."

the natives was so complete, that even women and little children were robbed of the few ornaments that they carried about them, consisting of coins, such as paras, sequins, and piastres. The artillery found in the place consisted of forty pieces of cannon, being the field equipage given to Dgezzar by the Grand Signior, and twenty iron and brass guns mounted on the walls. Orders were immediately expedited to Alexandria for Perée to sail for Jaffa, which was intended to be the port and the entrepôt of all articles to be received from Damietta and Alexandria. A government, with a divan, was speedily organized; and the command of the place consigned to Adjutant-general Grenier, who was afterwards carried off by the plague.

Preparatory to his march for St. Jean d'Acre, Buonaparte endeavoured to terrify or cajole Dgezzar Pacha by an hypocritical letter, in which he affirmed that *he had treated with generosity* such troops as surrendered at discretion, though *he had been severe* towards those who violated the rights of war, and promised, that as God granted him victory, he would, *like him, be merciful*, not only *towards the people*, but *towards the great*. He recommended to Dgezzar to abstain from resistance, to become the friend of the French

and

and the enemy of the Mamelukes and the English; and "in reward he should be taken *into favour*, and *experience more good* than he had previously met with evil."

This gross deceit was too clumsy to deceive even the most unsuspicious of men, with the testimony of damning and recent facts to prove how far every sentiment of honour, mercy, or clemency, was from the heart of the writer. Djezzar sent only a brief verbal answer, implying that he would rather bury himself in the ruins of Acre, than suffer it to fall into the hands of Buonaparte. In expressing this resolution, he was encouraged not only by his own force, and the assistance of the Porte, but by the unexpected aid of the genius, judgment, and valour of a British Captain and a French Royalist Officer of Engineers; who were destined to revive in a remote century those exploits which, in the days of chivalry, had rendered St. Jean d'Acre the theme of so much wonder and celebrity.

Sir William Sidney Smith, after attaining the rank of Post-Captain in the British Navy, had, in 1789, when his country was at peace, offered his services to the King of Sweden, then at war with Russia, and conducted himself with such distinguished bravery during several actions with

the Russian fleet, that the Grand Cross of the Military Order of the Sword was conferred upon him by Gustavus III. and he became the worthy *chevalier* of a great king, justly called *le Chevalier des Rois*. The war with France soon after made him as remarkable for his courage as for his talents and activity; and it was to his care that Lord Hood entrusted the patriotic but difficult task of destroying the fleet in the port of Toulon.

Become a prisoner to the French in consequence of an exertion of personal bravery in the port of Havre, he was, contrary to the laws of war and of civilized nations, by the orders of the infamous republican government, immured within the walls of the same Temple where so much virtue and loyalty had suffered; and every attempt for his exchange or enlargement was rejected. At length, however, the gates were thrown open by friendship, his liberty procured, and his return to England facilitated, by means that savour of romance, rather than of history.

Received with applause and admiration by all his loyal countrymen, and with approbation and benevolence by his King, he was appointed to the command of a small squadron, with which he, as commodore, repaired to Constantinople.

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In conjunction with his brother, then British Minister there, he formed a treaty of alliance with the Ottoman Porte; and, after generously procuring the liberation of a number of French prisoners, repaired to Egypt. Whilst a Turkish army was preparing to sail for the East, he endeavoured to defer the expedition to Syria by bombarding Alexandria; and when he found that the army was preparing to cross the Desert, his friend Philipeaux was sent to the assistance of the intimidated Dgezzar Pacha.

This officer is the one already mentioned, as having been bred in the same college with Buonaparte, the friend of his youth, the companion of his studies and of his amusements. Attached to the monarchy from principle, and to the religion of his ancestors from conviction,—on the annihilation of the throne, and the proscription of christianity, he appeared in arms in favour of his prince against the regicides and rebels, who, under the appellation of republicans, tyrannized over his wretched countrymen. It was he who, at the risk of his life, had rescued Sir Sidney Smith from bondage, and restored him to his country. After accompanying him to the Levant with the rank of a colonel in the British service, he had been sent into Syria, and had

employed all his talents as an able engineer in fortifying Acre, so as to resist the efforts of his former school-fellow, who had, by crimes, by fortune, and by some capacity, become a renowned and dreaded general.

The Commodore, who had arrived but two days before the French, although he perceived the works to be not in a very formidable state of defence, contributed, with Philipeaux, to soothe the fears and encourage the hopes of the Pacha, who, on seeing the enemy victorious every where, had determined to abandon his palace, and seek for safety with his women and treasures in a more distant situation; but no sooner did he observe that he was so ably supported, than Dgezzar determined to stand a siege, and participate in the glory of stopping the career of the guilty and audacious Corsican adventurer.

Nor was he mistaken either with respect to the industry or the talents of his new allies; for the English squadron, in the course of the next day, discovered, in the neighbourhood of Mount Carmel, a corvette and nine sail of gun-boats, laden with artillery and ammunition, intended to assist in the reduction of Acre. Seven vessels belonging to this flotilla, containing the greatest

part

part of the battering train, were captured; and this fortunate incident contributed much to save the city, as well as to harass the invaders; for the prizes, being manned with British sailors, were anchored near the town, and employed in impeding the enemy's approaches; while the cannon were mounted on the ramparts, so as to annoy that army for which they were intended to ensure a boasted and apparently certain triumph.

On leaving Jaffa, the French army, after some slight opposition, reached Caiffa, which the people abandoned, carrying away the artillery and ammunition of the fort, and proceeded to St. Jean d'Acre. Having secured provisions, and determined all the necessary previous points, vigorous exertions were made for carrying on the siege: in this attempt, however, the French were no longer to be encountered by an ignorant adversary, the dupe of every *ruse de guerre*, and whose very valour was more injurious to him than cowardice could have been; but by a brave though fierce body, led to constant exertion, and trained to the useful operations of discipline, by men of equal courage, greater prudence, and consummate skill. Unapprised of these circumstances, the French expected an easy conquest; and pressed forward to an assault, in hopes again to en-

joy a sanguinary triumph over an unequal foe.

The relation of all the particulars of this memorable siege demands too great a length to find its place here; suffice it to say, that numerous acts of temerity, despair, treachery, and cruelty, exhibited by Buonaparte and his satellites, were encountered and defeated by the bravery, ability, constancy, and generosity, of the British Commodore, and the British and allied troops under his command and disposal.

Buonaparte continued for sixty days, without interruption, to attack, bombard, or assault Acre; though after a siege of six weeks he was obliged to alter the manner of attacking it. At this time the garrison, invigorated by the presence of the English, and defended by the skill of Sir Sidney and Philipeaux (who unfortunately died soon after by the bursting of a blood-vessel), had erected cavaliers, and constructed two places of arms, together with batteries so contrived as to flank the tower, and produce all the advantages arising from a cross fire: a counter-attack was also attempted under ground, for the purpose of driving the besiegers from their galleries.

Sir Sidney Smith, in a letter addressed to the Admiralty

Admiralty at this period, expresses himself as follows: "We have the satisfaction of finding ourselves, on the forty-sixth day of the siege, in a better state of defence than we were the first day the enemy opened their trenches; notwithstanding the increase of the breach, which they continue to batter with effect; and the garrison, having occasionally closed with the enemy, in several sorties, feel greater confidence that they shall be able to resist an assault, for which they are prepared. Had the Combined Powers acted with the same valour, vigour, and determination, when besieged in Brabant, Flanders, Holland, Germany, and Italy, there can be little doubt but the political monster of a French Republic would have been confined within the limits of the French monarchy, and Europe would have been still free.

It was after the arrival of Admiral Perée at Jaffa with some heavy artillery, that Buonaparte gave orders to change the plan of operations, and effect a new breach in the eastern curtain, by means of a sap and a mine, which was to blow up the counterscarp; the English however, not only discovered his intentions, but, by making approaches under ground, entered the gallery, destroyed the frame work, and coun-

teracted all the operations: this new attempt, dictated rather by disappointed desperation than by sound judgment, was therefore completely ineffectual.

About the same time a squadron of more than thirty sail of transports and corvettes, under Hassan Bey, was seen standing in for Acre. Buonaparte, knowing that the landing of fresh troops would be productive of great disadvantage to the besiegers, determined to anticipate the event by a new and still more desperate trial to storm the place; and though exposed to a heavy fire from the gun-boats, he made a lodgment on the second story of the north-east tower, on the outer angle of which the republican standard was hoisted. The fire of the besieged had slackened, and the re-inforcements were only half-way toward the shore. The breach was feebly defended; and this was the *critical moment* of the siege. At this juncture Sir Sidney Smith landed two boats at the Mole; and, hastily arming the crews, led them to the breach. The Turks, animated by this unexpected supply, flocked to the point of danger, where the besiegers were contesting on equal terms with the defenders of the town; the muzzles of their muskets were in

contact,

contact, and the spear-heads of the colours locked in each other.

The conduct of the English upon this, as on other occasions, fully entitled them to the gratitude of their allies, and to the admiration of a more generous foe. Djezzar, who, according to the custom of his nation, was sitting in a conspicuous place, rewarding those who brought him the heads of enemies, and distributing supplies of ammunition, rushed to the breach, and exhibited the unprecedented sight of a Turkish chieftain exhorting Christian soldiers to retire from the post of danger, as in them he should lose his best defenders. The general enthusiasm prevalent under these circumstances decided the fate of the day; the French were kept in check until reinforcements were landed; oriental jealousy gave way to the sense of peril; a well-disciplined regiment, the Chiffleck (disciplined under Sultan Selim's own eye), being admitted into the gardens of the Seraglio, made a sortie, and although the Turks were repulsed, the besiegers, being obliged to expose themselves above their parapets, were mowed down in great numbers by the flanking fire of the garrison; their force at the breach was diminished, and the small number

ber remaining on the lodgment were killed or dispersed.

During this tremendous conflict, Buonaparte, surrounded by his generals and aides-de-camp, and burning with rage and shame, had placed himself on an eminence, called Richard Cœur de Lion's mount, already made famous by the exploits of that British hero; his gesticulations, and the mission of an aide-de-camp to the main body of his forces, indicated a resolution to renew the attack. Accordingly, a little before sun-set, a massive column was descried descending to the breach, which was not wide enough to admit fifty men abreast. On this occasion, a stratagem of war, adopted at the instance of the Pacha, proved highly successful. This French column, which advanced to the attack, was suffered to mount the breach without molestation. On their descent into the Pacha's garden, the foremost was encountered by the Turks, who lay in ambuscade; and where combined tactics could not avail, the republican bayonet was exerted in vain against the Turkish scimitar and dagger, wielded in the right and left hand with equal force and dexterity. The column was repulsed; it was in vain that General Lasnes attempted to rally the fugitives; for he himself

was

was wounded by a musket shot near the wall, while Rambaud perished in the city, of which he vainly imagined that he had obtained possession.

A few days after this, with a zeal expressive of rashness and cruelty rather than of true courage, Buonaparte ordered a new assault to be made; but the troops selected for the occasion, having to mount the fatal breach over the putrid bodies of their unburied countrymen, refused to stain themselves with this new outrage to humanity. On hearing this, the grenadiers of the twenty-first demi-brigade solicited and obtained the honour of storming the place: on advancing for this purpose, however, it was discovered that the enemy had completed three lines of defence, which it became impossible to carry; so that, after a useless massacre, in the course of which General Bonn, Adjutant-general Fowler, and one of Buonaparte's aides-de-camp, were killed, and several officers severely wounded, a retreat was beaten, and the discomfited volunteers returned to the camp.

In proportion as the troops relaxed in their ardour, and the capture of Acre became dubious, chagrin, despair, and ferocity, began to be visible in the face and actions of Buonaparte, who, hitherto

hitherto the spoiled child of fortune, for the first time in his life beheld himself foiled, and that too by a town *scarcely defensible according to the rules of art*; while the surrounding hills were crowded by a multitude of armed spectators, who waited the result of the contest, to declare for the victor. Convinced, at length, by what had passed, that the supposed invincibility of the French was not real, these people easily yielded to the invitation of Sir Sidney Smith, and preferred a union with "a Christian knight, to the friendship of an unprincipled renegado."—They dispatched ambassadors, declared their resolution to arrest all mountaineers who should be discovered transporting ammunition or provisions to the French camp; and, as a pledge of their sincerity, sent in four-score individuals whom they had taken in such an attempt. This determination prevented the further progress of Buonaparte to the northward; and at the same time he received intelligence from Cairo, that several provinces were in insurrection; that Gizeh was invaded by a wandering Arabian tribe from the heart of Africa; and that an impostor, calling himself the angel El Mahdi, announced in the Koran, had gained numerous adherents, and carried several posts.

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To barter honour for success was no new traffic with Buonaparte; and on this occasion he made an attempt of the most odious and dishonourable kind, to gain the long-contested town. The dead bodies over which he had made his last assault, becoming putrid, generated diseases, and even the plague, in the camp. Employing an Arabian dervise as a flag of truce, Berthier, in the name of the commander in chief, addressed a letter to Dgezzar, desiring a suspension of arms till the dead could be buried, and the establishment of an exchange of prisoners effected. While this message was under consideration, and the flag of truce waited for the answer, Buonaparte, in defiance of all laws of justice and humanity, and *to the everlasting disgrace of the name of soldier*, commenced an assault, hoping to take the town by surprise. Fortunately, however, the garrison was on its guard; and this act of desperate treachery met its due reward in defeat and disgrace. Sir Sidney Smith with difficulty rescued the dervise from the fury of those who considered him as a voluntary instrument in the treason which had been committed; and gained a full and delicious revenge, by sending him back to Buonaparte with

with a letter of reproof which overwhelmed him and his army with shame*.

Foiled

* 'THE GENERAL IN CHIEF TO CHIEF OF THE STAT MAJOR GENERAL.

'The Commander of the English Squadron before Acre having had the barbarity to embark on board a vessel which was infected with the plague, the French prisoners made in the two tartans laden with ammunition, which he took near Caiffa; having been remarked at the head of the barbarians, in the sortie which took place on the 18th, and the English flag having been at the same time flying over many towers in the place, the barbarous conduct which the besieged displayed in cutting off the heads of two volunteers which were killed, must be attributed to the English commander, a conduct which is very opposite to the honours which have been paid to English officers and soldiers found upon the field of battle, and to the attentions which have been paid to the wounded and to prisoners.

'The English being those who defend and provision Acre, the horrible conduct of Djezzar, who caused to be strangled and thrown into water, with their hands tied behind their backs, more than two hundred Christians, inhabitants of this country, among whom was the secretary of a French consul, must be equally attributed to this officer, since, from circumstances, the Pacha found himself entirely dependent upon him.

'This officer having besides refused to execute any of the articles of exchange established between the two powers, and his proposals in all the communications which have taken place, and his conduct since the time that he has been cruising here, having been those of a madman; my desire is, that you order the different commanders on the coast to give up all communication with the English fleet actually cruising in these seas.

(Signed) 'BUONAPARTE.'

Such

Foiled in this foul and disgraceful attempt, Buonaparte found himself obliged to retreat, and,

Such accusations many, perhaps, will think too contemptible to be noticed; but there are others who, infatuated with Buonaparte, might find, in silence, ground for recrimination. I therefore shall briefly observe, first as to the massacre of the Christians, that Dgezzar Pacha, previous to the disembarkation of any individual from the English ships, caused thirty men in the French interest to be strangled, foreseeing that resistance would be made to the act, if not perpetrated before Sir Sidney's landing; that the embarkation of the prisoners in vessels infected with the plague is a ludicrous charge; for would Sir Sidney, in that case, have placed an English guard on board over them? So contrary, however, is the fact, that some French sick embarked afterwards at Jaffa, for Damietta, in eight or ten tartans, having heard of the kind treatment their comrades experienced, stood out to the Tigre, then cruizing off, and surrendered themselves. The charge about cutting off the heads of dead men is frivolous; besides, how could Sir Sidney, in his situation, abolish the practice? and it is urged, with some effrontery, by the man who had a short time before butchered in cold blood near 4000 Turks. The abusive part is too low to be noticed; but I will exalt the victorious adversary of Buonaparte even higher than his character has yet reached, by relating, that when Sir Sidney found the French had raised the siege of Acre, he instantly sailed for Jaffa, off which place he stood close in to the shore, and saw a body of the enemy filing into the town. Immediately he cannonaded what he supposed was an enemy, and his shot evidently did considerable execution; at length, by his glass, he perceived that the column which he was attacking consisted only of wounded and sick men riding on camels, almost all of the soldiers having bandages on some of their limbs; when he directly ordered the firing to cease, and allowed the whole convoy to pass on unmolested;—a trait which must procure for him the gratitude of Frenchmen, and the love of his own *countrymen.*

and, instead of returning as a conqueror, to retire like a fugitive. His last efforts were worthy of him; *they were dedicated to revenge.* No longer hoping to gain the town, he *bravely destroyed the aqueduct*, bombarded the principal buildings, and used his utmost endeavours to reduce the palace of Dgezzar to a heap of ruins. After a siege from the 20th of March to the 21st of May, conducted with treachery and atrocity without advantage, and conducted without honour, Buonaparte commenced his retreat. His artillery, and the wounded whom he had not time to poison, were embarked in country vessels, to be conveyed coastwise to Jaffa; but Sir Sidney Smith, placing himself between that place and Damietta, the crews, destitute of all necessaries, even of provisions and water, steered directly towards the British fleet, relying on the honour and humanity of the English commander, and execrating and deploring the want of those qualities in their own.

Previous to his retreat, Buonaparte addressed to his troops a proclamation filled with futile boasts, false assertions, and delusive consolations. He *complimented* them on having traversed the Desert which separates Asia from Africa, with more rapidity than an army of Arabs; destroyed

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the army intended for the invasion of Egypt; frustrated an intended attack on Alexandria; and though but a handful of men, carried on the war for three months in the heart of Syria. "You have taken," said he, "forty field-pieces, fifty standards, and six thousand prisoners; *razed* the fortifications of Gaza, Jaffa, Caiffa, *and Acre. In a few days* you might have *hoped* to take the Pacha in the midst of his palace; but, at this season, *the capture of the castle of Acre is not worth the loss even of a few days;* besides, the brave men whom I must lose in the exploit are wanted for more essential operations." These boasts, with the vengeance of *burning* villages and harvests, and *shooting the Naplusians whom he took prisoners, were the only consolations* of Buonaparte during his march. Such was the close of an expedition, the success of which Buonaparte had anticipated with a profane threat, that furnishes the world with a curious specimen of the *piety* of the most Christian Consul, Ali-Buonaparte. The priests at Jerusalem told several British travellers, that Buonaparte had said, that should he ever obtain possession of JERUSALEM, *he would plant the* TREE OF LIBERTY *on the* SPOT *on which the* CROSS *of* JESUS *stood*, and would BURY *the first* FRENCH GRENADIER *who should*

fall in the attack, in the TOMB *of our* BLESSED SAVIOUR!!!

His approach to Cairo was a moment of anxiety and apprehension,—embarrassed as he was with dangers which required all his audacity to face, and all his cunning and fortune to avert. In a boastful letter, which was read in the Institute, he had used these expressions: "In three days I shall be at Acre; *when you open this, be assured that Dgezzar Pacha is no more.*" Nothing was left for him but to veil his *disgrace* under the appearance of *triumph*, and assume the deportment, not of a *leader* returning *discomfited* and *disappointed*, but of a *real conqueror*. Orders were accordingly dispatched to the government at Cairo, to prepare illuminations, triumphal arches, and a festival for the *Conquerors of Syria* and *of Dgezzar Pacha*. The troops, who had despondingly anticipated a different reception, whose murmurs against the man who had planned their expedition amounted to mutiny, whose expressions even menaced death to him, as an atonement for their seven thousand comrades who had perished, saw with surprise the honours paid to them; heard their chief and themselves styled conquerors; and, in the delirium of vanity, forgot their injuries and defeats. The

next morning Buonaparte, assured of the intoxication still continuing, assembled the remnants of his army on parade, distributed rewards, then moved forward a battalion of grenadiers, whom he upbraided with having refused to make another assault on Acre, and sentenced them to carry their arms slung behind till their characters were retrieved. This extraordinary stroke of policy converted many of Buonaparte's detractors into admirers. They confessed his knowledge of the nature and character of French slaves, when in a few hours he could so improve his situation, and re-assume his influence, as to disgrace those very men, who the day before would, with the applause of their comrades who now approved of their dishonour, had he uttered a word of censure, have instantly assassinated him.

From this period, till the time when he added desertion to his other crimes, Dessaix continued victorious in Upper Egypt, and Buonaparte himself defeated 8000 Turks who had captured Aboukir, of whom, although 2000 were saved, with his usual veracity he declared, in his reports, the number of killed and drowned amounted to seventeen thousand men. This achievement terminated the military exploits of Buo-

naparte in Egypt. The effrontery and ascendancy of his character, the celebrity of his name, and dextrous application of his talents to the purpose of maintaining his authority, were insufficient to prevent the formation of a formidable party in his own army, who were dissatisfied at seeing the honour of France tarnished by his wanton barbarities; while the troops seemed doomed to be sacrificed to the pursuit of a conquest which would never be thoroughly achieved, since every new success led only to the formation of more extravagant and diffusive designs. It has already been said, that on Buonaparte's return from Syria, the physician who had refused to administer poison accused the general, in a full assembly of the Institute, of treason against the honour of France, her children, and humanity. The spirit of inquiry and resistance thus disclosed, and a conviction, derived from the conduct of the troops at Acre, that a time might come when his commands would not be sufficient to ensure general obedience, powerfully stimulated him to the accomplishment of the wishes that he had always entertained of returning to France. To these motives were added others arising from intelligence that he had received, of the victorious progress

gress of the Allies in Italy, which totally destroyed all hopes of succour from France for the army in Egypt. When Buonaparte had fully resolved to quit his deluded comrades, whom he so often and so solemnly had promised never to leave before he carried them back again to France, he prepared for the execution of his projects with the utmost secrecy, knowing that the slightest suspicion of his design must have proved fatal to him. He ordered Rear-admiral Gantheaume to equip, and keep in readiness for sailing, the frigates which remained in his possession, and to give notice the moment the combined British and Turkish squadron should quit the coast. The desired intelligence reached the General on the 18th of August, at six o'clock in the evening: at nine he dispatched orders to those who were to share in the dishonour of his desertion, and to accompany his flight, to hold themselves in readiness to set out at midnight to attend him on a tour in Lower Egypt. They were to meet him on the beach; and each was furnished with sealed instructions, not to be opened till the moment of rendezvous.

Gantheaume had stationed in the road, at the distance of a league from the shore, two frigates; and Buonaparte, having secured the military

chest, and sealed orders for General Kleber, repaired on shipboard, attended by a few confidential followers, leaving the army enraged, surprized, and despondent, to lament the miseries of their situation, and the perfidy of their chief. His voyage was at first retarded by contrary winds, and was considerably lengthened by the necessity of steering close to the coast of Africa, which was considered as most likely to be out of the track of any European vessels, and least exposed to the dangers of pursuit. At length, however, they reached the port of Ajaccio, in Corsica; and shortly afterwards Buonaparte landed near Frejus, in Provence.

From the next events that attended Buonaparte, it would seem as if Fortune, in the utmost caprice of her reputed divinity, had endeavoured to exhibit to the world a splendid and extraordinary specimen of her power to elevate a guilty individual, in defiance of circumstances and in contempt of merit. It can scarcely be supposed possible, that a General abandoning his army without even a pretext of orders, without the means of apprizing government of his views, and without any strong party in the state formed to favour him, should escape severe animadversion, or avoid personal degradation, if not punishment;

nishment; but at this period, so abject was the domestic situation of France, that the government, possessing neither power, ability, virtue, nor popularity, appeared to await with stupid resignation the new revolution, which was to terminate its too protracted existence; while individuals were endeavouring, with clumsy exertions, only to avert the weight of ruin from themselves, and establish such a character of comparative innocence, as would enable them to retreat in safety from the approaching storm. While the detestation of the Directory was general, accusations, recriminations, and denunciations, occupied much of the time and of the debates in the two Councils. Jacobin clubs were already established at Paris and in many of the departments. The blood-suckers and terrorists of Robespierre and of his accomplices, coming forward from their hiding-places, provoked laws of barbarous severity against seditious movements, and the tyrannical enforcement of decrees for a forced loan and levy of conscripts. The torch of civil war was again lighted in many departments, particularly those in the southern and western parts of the French Republic. A sense of the inability of government to surmount these disasters was universally prevalent; and General

Jourdan, a member of the Council of Five Hundred, had actually proposed a decree for declaring the country in danger, in the same manner as it had been decreed after the 10th of August, 1792, and which had been the indirect cause and the direct excuse for all the crimes and horrors committed during the reign of the National Convention.

One of the directors, Sieyes, was labouring with endeavours which could scarcely be termed covert, for the overthrow of the government; he was secretly assisted by Talleyrand, whom the Jacobins had lately forced to resign his place of Minister for the Foreign Department. The exact views of these crafty intriguers cannot be developed; but it is clear, that their past crimes, with a hatred of the right heir to the crown, on the one hand; and a dread of the jacobins, whom they had mortally offended, and therefore feared, on the other, would impel them to avoid the re-establishment of royalty, or the alteration of the existing system to a form favourable to the ferocious band of republicans. Strength as well as firmness was evidently wanting to the executive power; and that could only be given by a dictator, or a protectorship residing in one individual, not embarrassed by councils who had

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shewn that they knew neither how to use nor to restrain authority, with whom faction was every thing, and virtue and liberty nothing *.

Such is the true, though imperfect picture of the internal situation of the French common wealth; but if this was dreadful, the external actions and transactions of the French government, and its generals and troops, were as contemptible, dishonourable, and disastrous. The Congress at Rastadt had proved to all the world the bad faith, the dangerous pretensions, and the ambitious views of the Directory; and the victories of the Allies in Germany and Italy were convincing evidences of the weakness, disaffection, or disorganization of the republican armies. The people, therefore, when fortune landed Buonaparte in France, far from inquiring into the causes of his past conduct, were happy to suppose that he brought the means of terminating their present misfortunes and disgraces; they flattered themselves that their destinies were in his hands, and that the success which had formerly attended his banner in Italy would again be extended over the whole country. His arrival in Paris was therefore hailed as a great national

* See Histoire du Directoire Executif, and Desadouard's History.

tional deliverance; and he became the centre of those intrigues which seemed to receive their final sanction and guarantee from the addition of his name. The two Councils prostrated themselves at his feet, and gave a splendid and solemn banquet in honour of his return, in the church of St. Sulpice, called, since the Revolution, the Temple of Victory. At this fête the Directory and the members of both Councils attended; but, although the efforts of art and taste were exhausted in rendering the scene illustrious and agreeable, and the fraternal banquet sumptuous and animating, the general aspect of the guests was replete with constraint and embarrassment. Suspicions prevailed on all sides; the machinations for the new overthrow of the Government and Constitution were ready to be carried into execution; Buonaparte appeared only for a moment in the hall, and retired; impressed, perhaps, with the fear which was never afterwards absent from his mind, that in some morsel or some goblet, to be presented by the hand of treachery or vengeance, he might swallow his death.

At length, three days after this fête, which, to please a new-converted Mussulman, had profaned a Christian church, and after many secret interviews

interviews had taken place with Sieyes, Talleyrand, Fouché, Volney, Rœderer, and other conspirators, Buonaparte determined to bury the Directorial Constitution amid the ruins of the four former ones, which, since the Revolution, had made France wretched, and troubled Europe; and to erect from their rubbish a code of government, which his bayonets should proclaim, his bayonets enforce, and his bayonets protect or change, according to his whim, passion, or caprice. To achieve this, it became indispensably necessary to remove the scene of action from Paris, where both the loyal adherents to monarchy and religion, and the guilty partisans of a Revolution which had annihilated the throne with the altar, were still numerous and powerful. The leading members of the Council of Ancients were therefore gained; and, to conceal the real plot, a suppositious one was feigned, in consequence of which the Legislature assembled at St. Cloud. An attempt was then made to seduce the Council of Five Hundred; but as the majority proved refractory, the Corsican Buonaparte, imitating the conduct of the English Cromwell when he dissolved the Long Parliament, and overturned that commonwealth which he had sworn to preserve, recurred to vio-

lence. The representatives of the French people were driven from their seats by the deluded soldiers of a foreigner; three consuls were substituted in the place of a directory of five; and a ridiculous Senate, an enslaved Legislative Body, and a mock Tribunate, succeeded the Councils of Ancients and of Five Hundred.

Before this usurpation was effected, he had as much flattered all parties, as he has since deceived them. By his known connexion with Sieyes and Volney, the republicans hoped for what he, *the day before the Revolution*, had so solemnly promised, a Republic founded on true liberty, on civil liberty, on equality, and on national representation." His intimacy with Talleyrand and Rœderer, and the hints that he threw out, caused the constitutional royalists to hope for a revival of a constitutional monarchy; while his past transactions at Toulon in 1793, and at Paris in 1795, and his present consultations with Fouché of Nantes, and other notorious terrorists, made the Jacobins believe in the re-establishment of the anarchical conventional code of the year 2, and the return of the reign of terror. He therefore experienced but little resistance even from the Jacobins, who otherwise on all occasions,

tions, have exhibited more energy and determination than the rebels of other factions.

But if General Buonaparte had imposed upon them all, the First Consul tried to reconcile them by an equal distribution of places and lucrative employments, and by mixing in the same Senate and Councils, the royalist and the demagogue; the aristocrat and the democrat; the republican and the terrorist; the moderate and passive admirer of the Revolution, and the extravagant, desperate, and active jacobin. Sieyes has said more than once, that the whole revolution, or, rather, all the revolutions, have been nothing but continual change of places; and that ambition, plots, and intrigues for places, have been the first and only movers of French patriotism; the only wish and call for a liberty equally proscribed by all the heroes of the different revolutions for these last fourteen years. This heterogeneous composition, of chief intriguers and pretenders for places, has therefore already preserved the consular revolutionary constitution longer than any of the preceding ones. It has besides, by preferring affluence to rank, and slavery to liberty and equality, made the power of the usurper unlimited, and the actions of the consular tyrant un-

uncontrollable; so that all French citizens, whom neither places can make courtiers, pensions can silence, nor money bribe, the Temple, the military commissions, the guillotine, or Cayenne, remove out of the way, or bury their clamors, murmurs, disaffections, or complaints.

Having united all the authorities, both civil and military, in his own person, it only remained necessary to adapt the yoke to the necks which were to bear it, to prevent discontent at first; and in the early use of power, to seem a benefactor dispensing blessings, and not a tyrant imposing burthens. Yet the First Consul and his principal advisers, Talleyrand and Fouché, were not now to learn, that, in order to retain uncontrolled ascendancy, it was necessary to fetter the press. If the unlimited right of publication remained, no permanent usurpation and dominion could be expected among a people prone to changes, disposed to cavil, and disgusted with upstart governors and governments.

The Executive Directory, from the moment of their establishment, had severely felt the embarrassment arising from this circumstance: their utmost despotism had been exerted in vain; presses had been seized, journals suppressed, and editors punished with exemplary rigour; but

yet new presses, journals similar in sentiment though different in name, and editors of equal audacity and ability, daily arose. Buonaparte, however, at an early period of his sway, terminated this difficulty, by decreeing that only a certain number of newspapers, magazines, and reviews, should be tolerated; and the new constitution contained not a syllable in favour of the rights of printing or speaking. It is difficult, if not impossible, to find in the pages of history three guilty characters, such as Buonaparte, Talleyrand, and Fouché, who had more to apprehend from a liberty of the press, which might alike expose the crimes of the barbarous poisoner, of the crafty unfeeling intriguer, and of the ferocious terrorist, drowner, and plunderer. That it has been their constant plan, therefore, to enslave and fetter, in the same manner, the presses of the countries where French arms have penetrated, or French intrigues prevailed, is neither surprising nor unexpected.

Having thus paralysed one of the most formidable means of creating an opposition to a revolutionary government, and knowing, as he did, that it was not his victories, but his pacifications, not his valour and fortune in the field, but his former negotiations and avowed professions

for a peace, that had made him popular with the French nation (which now totally disregarded all laurels and trophies of triumph, and only sighed and prayed for the termination of hostilities, and desired the olive-branch of peace to close the temple of Janus for ever), he determined to preserve his popularity by the same hypocritical means by which he had obtained it, and to propose the cessation of war. He therefore wrote letters to the Emperors of Germany and Russia, and to the King of Great Britain *, con-

* Lettre du Ministre des relations Exterieures de France, à Lord Grenville, principal Secretaire d'Etat de sa Majesté Britannique au departement des Affaires Etrangeres.

MILORD,

J'expedie, par ordre du General Buonaparte, Premier Consul de la Republique Française, un Courier à Londres; il est porteur d'une lettre du Premier Consul de la Republique pour sa Majesté le Roi d'Angleterre. Je vous prie de donner des ordres necessaires pour qu'il puisse la remettre sans intermediaire. Cette demarche annonce d'elle même l'importance de son objet. Recevez, Milord, l'assurance de ma plus haute consideration.

CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

Paris, 5 *Nivose*, *an.* 8.

Lettre de Buonaparte à sa Majesté Britannique.

Republique Française, Souverainété du Peuple.

LIBERTE. EGALITE!!

Paris, 5 *Nivose*, *an.* 8.

Appelé par le vœu de la Nation Francaise à occuper la premiere magistrature de la Republique, *je crois convenable*, en entrant en charge,

containing the usual bombastic expressions of the deceitful revolutionary cant, and *declaring his abhorrence of war; though war alone had dragged him from his obscurity, and made him every thing.* The first words in this letter which struck the eyes of lawful Sovereigns were, LIBERTY and EQUALITY! As this was the accustomed etiquette of the former republican usurpers

charge, d'en faire *directement* part à votre Majesté. La guerre qui depuis huit ans ravage les quatre parties du monde, doit elle etre eternelle? N'est il aucun moyen de s'entendre?

Comment les deux nations les plus eclairés de l'Europe, puissantes et fortes plus que ne l'exigent leur sureté et leur independence, peuvent elles sacrifier à des idées de vaine grandeur, le bien du commerce, la prosperité interieure, le bonheur des familles? Comment ne sentent-elles pas que la paix est le premier des besoins comme le premier des gloires?

Ces sentiments ne peuvent etre etrangers au cœur de votre Majesté, qui gouverne une nation libre, et donc le seul but, est de la rendre heureuse.

Votre Majesté ne verra dans cette ouverture, que *mon desire sincere* de contribuer *efficacement, pour la seconde fois,* à la pacification generale par une demarche prompte, *toute de confiance,* et degagée de ces formes, qui, necessaires peut-etre pour deguiser la dependance des etats faibles, ne decelent, des etats forts, que le desir mutuel de se tromper.

La France, l'Angleterre, *par l'abus de leurs forces,* peuvent longtems encore, pour le malheur de tous les peuples, en retarder l'epuisement; mais j'ose le dire, le sort de toutes les nations civilisées est attaché à la fin d'une guerre, qui embrâse le monde entier.

(Signé) BUONAPARTE.

usurpers in their correspondence with *neutral* Princes, it would not deserve any observation, had not the petty vain-glorious Buonaparte, on all occasions, with the ferocity of a tiger united the vanity of a coquet; and therefore these words were neither written by chance nor by custom, but to let all Europe know, that he pretended already to an equality with its first monarchs, though he had been only a fortnight an usurper: it proved to them what *right* and *equality* they might expect for the future, should fortune favour his vanity and pretensions, and that his intent and endeavour would be, not only to insult and dishonour kings, but by such an equality to undermine and destroy monarchy itself; and as all possible power could never procure him the equal respect due to legal princes, nor the equal regard customary between hereditary Sovereigns, his constant plans and plots would be to force them to descend to a level with him, as he can never ascend to an equal elevation, birth, and prerogative with them.

By addressing this letter to our King himself, Buonaparte likewise deserted the regular forms of diplomatic proceedings: Lord Grenville therefore very properly answered Talleyrand, by observing, "that the King, seeing no reason for depart-

departing from the forms of transacting affairs between foreign states, which prevailed throughout Europe, had directed him to answer the propositions of the First Consul by a note to his minister." He traced the conduct of France from the origin of the existing hostilities, and noticed the repeated assurances made by every succeeding government of pacific intentions, *whilst all their acts were replete with aggressions.* "The new government had given no proofs of a disposition to adopt a different system, nor could any certainty be given of its stability. The best assurances which Great Britain could receive of the formation of a regular government in France, would be the restoration of that race of princes, which, for so many ages, had preserved the Frenth nation in internal prosperity, and in consideration and respect among foreign powers. But although such an event would obviate every obstacle, his Majesty did not consider it indispensably necessary to the attainment of a *safe* and *durable* peace; but whenever he should be of opinion that the *security of his own dominions*, and *those of his Allies*, and *the general security of Europe*, could be attained, he would eagerly seize the opportunity to concert with his Allies the means of an immediate and general

pacı-

pacification. *Hitherto no such security existed;* and nothing remained for him to do, but to prosecute, in conjunction with the other powers, a just and defensive war."

At the very period when Buonaparte held the language of peace to Great Britain, his ministers at Berlin, Stockholm, and Copenhagen, and his emissaries at St. Petersburgh, were proposing and preparing the plan for that Northern Coalition against the British empire, which twelve months afterwards was concluded, and which Lord Nelson's victory dissolved. Our ministers, therefore, judged rightly of the First Consul's sincerity in a negotiation offered and undertaken only to shew his consequence abroad, to preserve his popularity at home, and to lull, if possible, England into a fatal security, or to lessen the vigorous efforts of the late ministers to crush to pieces the French revolutionary monster, as the only certain means of terminating with honour, advantage, and safety, a war which it alone had provoked and commenced.

The attention of Buonaparte was next occupied by the disturbances that had taken place in the western and southern departments, and which seemed to augur a renewal of the Vendean conflict. Not satisfied with preparing an army to subdue

subdue the insurgents, his natural inclination, so well corresponding with the cruel and Machiavelian counsels of Fouché, made him resolve by bribes, threats, intrigues, and murder, to finish what he called *an impious war*; and by gaining over or disuniting some of the royalist chiefs, he hoped to be enabled *bravely* to butcher the remainder without resistance, when either deserted or betrayed. Thus when d'Autichamp, Bourmont, Chatillon, and Fourmont, received three hundred thousand livres each, the loyal and incorruptible Frotté was betrayed and shot, though with a republican *safe-conduct* in his pocket*. If any doubt should remain of Buonaparte's humane, generous, and conciliating measures in the insurgent departments, the following lines, extracted from the mandates which he sent to his military commissioners and to his *pacifying* generals, will dispel it: they were ordered "*to shoot every royalist who should be found in arms, and also every person liable to suspicion, without sparing either age or sex!—to strike those who negotiate—to kill those who hesitate or resist!!!*"

Having

* The particulars of Frotté's capture are related in Fouché's life: as the author had it from the republican General Guidal, it may be depended upon. See vol. i. page 145.

Having in such a noble manner quieted or got rid of the internal enemies to his usurpation, Buonaparte issued orders for the assembling of an army of sixty thousand men near Dijon, in Burgundy, called the Army of Reserve. To encourage young men to join and enlist in the different corps composing this army, he issued an hypocritical proclamation, addressed to the passions of the French youths, and not their reason, or to that of their parents :—

" You are desirous of peace," says he : " *your government* desires it with still greater ardour; its most earnest wishes, its *constant solicitude*, is for that, and that alone. But the English ministry, *eager to debase France to the rank of a secondary power*, and anxious to keep all the continental states at variance, on purpose to seize on their spoils, still reject the idea. The government, however, which was not afraid *to offer*, and *even to solicit* this blessing, is well aware *that it belongs to you to command it*; and to command it, money, steel, and soldiers are necessary.

" Let all, therefore, be eager to participate in the common defence. Let the young men fly to arms; *it is no longer for the support of a faction*,

ion, it is no longer for the choice of a tyrant, that they are called upon to take the field; it is *for the safety of all that is dear to them;* it is *for the sacred interests of humanity, for the support of liberty,* and *for the honour of France.*"

As, however, many doubted the stability of Buonaparte's government, and his solicitude for peace, while hitherto his *only passion* and *glory* had been *war;* and were not quite sure that in fighting for an usurper they should be taking the field for the liberty and honour of France; the proclamation had not the desired effect: the usual revolutionary measures were therefore resorted to. All young men, under the appellation of conscripts, were again torn from their families in the most oppressive manner, and compelled to serve; but as he could not entirely depend upon these *volunteers,* he united with them the veterans who had fought in La Vendée; well knowing that soldiers who had not objected to stain their hands with the blood of their countrymen in arms for the throne and the altar, would have no repugnance to force others to fight for and defend the cause of usurpation and rebellion.

Through the neglect, ignorance, or treachery of

of Melas, it was with an army thus composed that Buonaparte was able to disorganize and enslave the European continent.

The different columns which composed the Army of Reserve marched early in May 1800 towards Geneva, and on the 12th of the same month were reviewed by the First Consul in the neighbourhood of Lausanne. They then continued their march along the right bank of the Rhone, until they reached the confluence of the Durance, near to Martinack. Thus far the roads had been practicable; but before they could arrive at the valley of Aosta, it became necessary to traverse twenty Italian miles of the mountainous regions of the great St. Bernard, situated between those of Simplon and Mount Blanc, nearly inaccessible to man, and over which a carriage had never passed. After some dangers and great fatigues, however, the army reached Aosta; which, after a very slight resistance, opened its gates to the invader. Chatillon and the castle of Bard surrendered in a few days. Master of these places, and the Castle of Ivrea, Buonaparte had before him two roads by which he might march to the relief of Genoa, then closely pressed by the Austrians, and bravely defended by Massena; the one by Chivasso,

vasso, Turin, Asti, and Alexandria; and the other by Vercetti, Navarre, Milan, Lodi, and Placenza. The first was rather the shortest; but, in preferring the other, Buonaparte avoided the necessity of passing under the cannon of Turin and Alexandria, and gained the advantage of seizing the principal magazines and stores formed and collected by the Austrians on the Tessino, the Adda, and the Oglio, and which the fatal security and negligence of Melas had left almost unprotected.

Notwithstanding the numerous army that Buonaparte carried with him into Italy, and which was far superior to the Austrians, he ordered and received reinforcements from General Moreau of twenty-five thousand veterans, commanded by General Moncey; and thus his army amounted to eighty-five thousand men, while that of the enemy was only about forty-five thousand.

Although, in a fortnight after his descent from the Alps, Buonaparte was placed in the midst of his former conquests, yet he was with his whole army perfectly isolated, and it appeared certain that a single reverse must expose him to inevitable destruction; trusting therefore to fortune, and to the number of his troops, he was very de-

sirous of bringing General Melas to a decisive engagement; he did not doubt but that the Emperor would send reinforcements; and had the two armies been equal in numbers, Buonaparte, probably, would not have had more reason to boast of his campaign in Italy in 1800, than that of Syria in 1799.

Genoa had capitulated on the 4th of June, and the blockading army under General Ott joined the chief corps under Melas on the 9th: preparations were made for a pitched battle, which on the part of the Austrians appeared only an ordinary encounter; whilst it was obvious, that upon the fate of this contest depended the power, reputation, and, perhaps, the life of Buonaparte.

At day-break on the 14th of June, the Austrians divided into three columns, passed the Bormida upon an equal number of bridges; that of the right ascended along the bank; while the centre followed the great road leading to the village of Marengo, and the left advanced towards Castel Ceriolo. After an obstinate contest, which lasted six hours, the Austrians had gained possession of Marengo, and compelled General Victor, who commanded the left and the centre, to retreat; and his movement forced

Lasnes,

Lasnes, who commanded the right wing, to adopt the same measure. The victory appeared complete; the republicans, defeated in all directions, retired in confusion to the plain of San Guilio, where Dessaix was placed with a chosen corps de reserve. With this corps Dessaix made a sudden and desperate charge on the pursuing army; the Austrians were broken in their turn; and, after a close engagement of thirteen hours, victory remained with the French. The whole glory of this battle appertains to Dessaix, for the laurels of Buonaparte had that day withered on his brow; the First Consul was defeated and in full retreat, when this General rushed forward and devoted himself for the preservation of his countrymen, though, by the caprice of fortune, the honour and advantages of the victory remained with Buonaparte, while the victor Dessaix was killed on the field of battle.

Complete as this victory was, had not Melas been awed by the influence of circumstances, his judgment dazzled by the supposed ascendancy of Buonaparte, or his faculties enfeebled by the temporary failure of his troops, he would never have consented to sign such a degrading, impolitic, and dishonourable armistice as that concluded

and agreed on two days after the battle of Marengo: the Imperial troops were not dispirited; on the contrary, they called for the renewal of the encounter, because they would not allow that the incident which closed the day entitled their opponents to claim the honours of victory. But the intrigues of Buonaparte were more successful than even his armies: the great and experienced General Melas vanished from view, and nothing remained but an abject and dispirited individual, ready to yield to every terror, to purchase relaxation by every concession, forgetting alike his honour as a general, and his duty as a subject: influenced and blinded by a debasing panic alone, he gave up, in one evil hour, what had required years of victories and rivers of blood to conquer; and in acting so, he changed with a stroke of the pen the general aspect of affairs, in such a manner, that the court of Vienna was unable to refuse the ratification of this inglorious and injudicious compact between weakness and audacity.

From this brief account it is evident, that the subsequent disasters and humiliation of Austria, and the slavery of the continent, originated not from the battle of Marengo, which the Imperial commander lost to General Des-

saix;

saix; but from the convention of Alexandria, which Buonaparte swindled from the trembling Melas.

Buonaparte was now again enabled to ravage wretched Italy; and that he did so, surprised nobody who had witnessed or suffered from his former dominion over that country; but though absent only three years, he had during that period proclaimed himself an apostate, renounced his Saviour, and adored Mahomet. It astonished even his generals and the Italian patriots, therefore, to see this arch-hypocrite, after the victory of Marengo, affect once more to be a Christian, by ordering Te Deum to be sung at the Metropolitan Church at Milan, *for the happy deliverance of Italy from heretics and infidels!* and dare to pronounce the name of his Redeemer, whom he, as a political Judas, had so frequently deserted.

At once the sovereign disposer of the immense resources of fertile Italy, as well as those of France, Switzerland, and Holland, Buonaparte expected to dictate terms of submission to his continental enemy; and to dishonour him, by compelling him to desert his British ally before his forces had been conquered by French arms. But had the Austrian army been as complete as

its fidelity and spirit were great; and the First Consul, instead of Moreau, had commanded the republicans in Germany, where a young prince, and not an old woman, headed the brave Imperialists, the cowardly blunders of Italy might have been repaired, and Europe been yet free; because Moreau, though vastly superior to his opponents, gained the battle of Hohenlinden only by his brilliant and vigorous manœuvres, surpassing, in the opinion of military men, all that Buonaparte ever achieved, or pretended to achieve, by force of numbers, perfidy, and blood.

As the valour of Dessaix had procured Buonaparte Italy, so the successes of Moreau in Suabia, Bavaria, and Austria, made him powerful enough to oblige Austria, for the first time, to acknowledge, in a formal treaty, the superiority of France, and to resign to the French republicans the first place among continental states, which it had for centuries maintained and defended. But the Treaty of Luneville, if it be a monument of the weakened situation of Austria, is at the same time an eternal reproach to an ungenerous, fortunate foe, who by this pacification told all the world, that an universal republic, founded upon universal plunder, corruption, and overthrow, is the constant plan and determi-

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nation of the Corsican ruler over the French commonwealth; more so than an univeral monarchy was formerly that of some of the lawful sovereigns during the French monarchy *.

England being now the only active enemy of the French Republic, Buonaparte employed all his arts and influence in exciting such a spirit among his own subjects, and establishing such a system among the other powers of Europe, as would promote his views of crushing, and, if possible, destroying the British nation. Every commotion in France, every attempt of expiring factions, every crime dictated by political enthusiasm or personal vengeance, was imputed to the *secret* agency of the British administration; and enslaved as was the French press, and prejudiced and ignorant as were the people, it was not more difficult now, than during the former periods of the Revolution, to dupe their credulity and excite their passions by the grossest absurdities. They easily believed, therefore, when Buonaparte's countryman Arena, and several other jacobins, in revenge for being imposed upon by his revolutionary hypocrisy, conspired, or, rather, *were accused* of having conspired his destruction,

* See the Secret History of the battle of Marengo, printed by Mercier at Paris, 1801, or year ix. page 30, 31, and 32.

destruction, and when some enthusiastic anti-republicans endeavoured by their infernal machine to rid the earth of a rebel who had long dishonoured it by his crimes, before he oppressed it by his tyranny, that both these plots were paid by British gold, and planned in British councils. To confirm the French people in their belief, a fabricated narrative, the production, and worthy of the genius, veracity, and humanity of the regicide Fouché, was published, and made use of as a *political* instrument to inflame the republicans against the British Government and Nation, by imputing to them a design totally repugnant to the nature of Englishmen, that of assassinating an enemy. They willingly accredited every fiction, however gross, and not only gave implicit faith to the tale suggested by the late transactions, but were *convinced* by the official consular Moniteur, that all the horrors and murders which had disfigured France in the course of the Revolution were directed and paid by the British Government; that Mirabeau and Brissot, Marat and Robespierre, Rewbel and Barras, had all obtained instructions and salaries from Pitt, to guillotine, to murder, to shoot, to drown, or to transport the virtuous French Citizens.

But

But while Great Britain maintained the indisputable sovereignty of the ocean, the effect of French or Corsican hatred was little to be apprehended. To countervail, therefore, the ascendancy of the British naval power, Buonaparte availed himself of some jealousies and disputes between England and two of the Northern Powers; and by one of those strange turns of politics, which often derange the best projects of human wisdom and foresight, the Emperor of Russia, totally changing those noble principles which had entitled him to the greatest share of admiration, from a loyal defender of all thrones, was become the zealous partizan of French usurpation, and the soul of a league with Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark, fabricated under the auspices of Buonaparte, for the ruin, as it was hoped, of Great Britain. As success gilded the banners of the Corsican, the eyes of the Emperor Paul became dazzled; and, seduced by French emissaries, he panted to share his friendship. Buonaparte easily appreciated the character of this unfortunate prince; and saw that he rather admired what was splendid, than pursued what was just; that he as often confounded fortune with merit, as caprice with reason: he therefore flattered the Emperor's vanity, and desire of

being thought a model of heroism and virtue, by the most abject and incessant soothings; but such is the blasting curse of Buonaparte's friendship, that the Russian monarch had not been six months connected with, or attached to this republican ruler, before a premature death broke those ties, which victorious crime had no intention to respect any longer than interest demanded, or hyprocrisy continued to dupe capricious or imbecile power. Under these circumstances, the victor of the Nile, gathering new laurels before Copenhagen, again blighted the hopes of Buonaparte, and dissolved in one day a confederacy which French emissaries and intriguers had been months preparing and concluding.

Obtaining at the same time information of the victories and progress of the British arms in Egypt, Buonaparte determined to try to gain by the cunning, sophistry, and Machiavelism of his negotiators, those advantages for which his warriors and those of his allies had in vain been combating both in Europe and in Africa, both in the Sound and before Aboukir. For near six months Citizen Otto therefore corresponded, presented plans and counter-plans, for a pacification between Great Britain and France; but he did not

not sign the preliminaries before he had ascertained that no Frenchman commanded any longer in Egypt, by the surrender of Alexandria to Lord Hutchinson.

As the perfidy of Buonaparte and his representative, in giving up Egypt *only as a compensation* for the restitution of the French colonies, at a time when they were fully acquainted with the fall of Alexandria, has been doubted by many; the author who, during the summer of 1801, was a prisoner on parole at Marseilles, can affirm, that on the 21st of September a vessel anchored in its neighbourhood from Alexandria, which it had left on the 1st of the same month, and brought the official account of the capitulation of General Menou, concluded two days before, or August 30th. This capitulation was known upon the Exchange at Marseilles before three o'clock that day; in the evening, at the playhouse: both the prefect La Croix, and the Commander General Cervoni, made no secret of it, or that they had expedited couriers to Paris with information to government of this event. Orders were besides publicly sent to the commissary of marine, and to the inspector of the quarantine, to prepare provisions, refreshments, &c. for the garrison of Alexandria, of which four hundred

arrived on the the 1st of October in the road of Marseilles. The distance between this city and Paris is two hundred leagues, which a courier may easily travel in four days and nights; no doubt therefore can remain, but that before the 26th of September the surrender of Menou was known to Buonaparte, who, in consequence, ordered Otto to conclude a peace, which, though highly honourable to the good faith and sincerity of the British cabinet, treachery alone signed on the part of France.

The impolitic eagerness to applaud Lauriston, who brought over the preliminary treaty, and the honours (humiliating to all loyal Britons) which were shewn to this emissary of an usurper, caused Buonaparte and his minister Talleyrand to believe that such was the want and desire of peace amongst all classes of Britons, that they might do, contrary to the interest of England, any thing that caprice, passion, or ambition should instigate or demand, to gratify humour, avarice, hatred, pretension, or vanity. A peace, or rather, a *treaty* of peace, was therefore swindled from the Sublime Porte, and an army sent to St. Domingo. Buonaparte usurped the supreme magistracy in Italy, and added Parma, the *island of* Elba, and Louisiana, to his other dominions.

minions. All these indirect threats to Great Britain, and real acquisitions for France, took place within six months after the preliminaries had been agreed to, and before the definitive treaty between England and France was signed; and the very day after its signature, he insulted our country by another treaty with Holland, which deprived our ancient ally, the Prince of Orange (the relative of our beloved Sovereign), of all his claims in the Batavian Republic.—These repeated and barefaced provocations made the most enlightened politicians, both in England and upon the Continent, conclude that Buonaparte had no intention to live in peace and amity with the British empire, and they, in consequence, anticipated a speedy renewal of hostilities.

And, in fact, from the beginning to the end of this (for the happiness of the world) short-lived peace, every act of Buonaparte was as imperious as unjust, as humiliating as vexatious to us: new restraints were laid upon our commerce, the debts due to British subjects were never paid, and all British travellers (with some few *political* or *patriotic* exceptions) were either vexed, insulted, plundered, or arrested; the representative of our nation, as well as the lowest

of its members, felt the effects of Buonaparte's unmanly and ungenerous hatred toward this country; and, as if afraid that his audacity and ill-will should not be sufficiently known throughout Europe, the political monster, in his official Moniteur, continued to accuse and calumniate Great Britain, and to dictate to its government in the manner that he was accustomed to command the enslaved nations of Italy, Switzerland, and Holland. When at last, therefore, the patience and moderation of our ministers were exhausted, and we were permitted to call a man our enemy who had never been our friend, the unanimity was greater in favour of war, than the rejoicing had been for the cessation of hostilities.

Short as the peace was, however, it had been useful, by exposing in its true light to all deluded, factious, or seduced Britons, the real character of a man, in favour of whom many had been so infatuated; whose hypocrisy was as great as his cruelty; who offered freedom when he intended slavery; and held out equality when all his actions and transactions had proved, that he could no more endure an equal than a superior.

Wherever Buonaparte was only known by his

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fame as a fortunate general, he was admired; but people of all countries and climates, in America as well as in Europe and Africa, when cursed by his presence, or the presence of his armed or disarmed slaves, soon changed admiration into detestation—the tyrant has been abhorred, and the victor hated or despised. Under pretence of encouraging commerce, and extending his *paternal* protection to the colonies, he duped, arrested, and murdered Toussaint L'Ouverture, and violated the plighted *honour* of the nation to the unhappy negroes, who had by their arms preserved St. Domingo as a French colony; but whom his treachery made ferocious, and whose valour and despair, assisted by the diseases of an unhealthy atmosphere, have annihilated numbers of those veteran troops who had escaped the fire, sword, and bayonets of the English, the German, the Italian, the Turk, and the Mameluke. Buonaparte could not trust in France, and therefore sent to perish in St. Domingo, near two-thirds of that ill-fated army, consisting of chosen men, who had fought and distinguished themselves under Generals Pichegru and Moreau, but were suspected by the Corsican, with whom transportation or death always and immediately follow suspicion.

By the religious Concordat, which he put the Pope in requisition to approve and sign, Buonaparte published his own disbelief in all religions, and that he was actuated only by policy and not by faith; and therefore, instead of tranquillizing the consciences of the timorous, he troubled those of the really devout Christians, who, seeing a murderer and a poisoner, an apostate and a blasphemer, sacrilegiously usurp the right of proclaiming himself the restorer of the worship of our Saviour, began to doubt whether it was possible that a God could exist, and permit such outrages and unheard-of impiety and profanation, by suffering this cruel man to augment the mass of his revolutionary crimes, and with a revolutionary religion, to profane the altars of his God, as he had already done the throne of his king.

In creating a corps called the *Legion of Honour*, Buonaparte, in a republic of equality, has erected a revolutionary nobility, with rank, precedence, and privileges, far superior to those of all former nobles, either in France or in Europe. What causes the French people to suffer so much the more from these NOVI HOMINES, or republican and upstart patricians, is, that most of them are men sprung from the very dregs of

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the revolutionary mobs, who within these last fifteen years have committed the most enormous crimes; possessing no more education, probity, or patriotism, than honour, morality, or religion; who are only slaves to the Corsican, that they may, unpunished, tyrannize over their countrymen.

It is a curious fact, that *regularly every year*, since Buonaparte usurped the throne of the Bourbons, he has, by some changes or other, once or oftener, violated that constitution which made him a First Consul. In 1800, the return of the emigrants and of the proscribed clergy; in 1801, the concordat with the Pope; in 1802, the amnesty for the emigrants, and the consulate for life; in 1803, the legion of honour—are all despotical acts, and institutions contrary to the very letter of the republican code, which he, in 1799, had so solemnly sworn to respect. Knowing the changeable and unsteady French character, he has taken care to provide yearly some new subjects for the speculation and occupation of philosophers as well as of politicians, to encourage the hope of the royalists, without diminishing the expectation of the republicans, or the hope of the jacobins. He has promoted and *employed men of* all parties, deceived men of all

parties,

parties, and punished men of all parties; and thus, by making them by turns his accomplices, slaves, or victims, he rules over them all, and has already reigned longer than any of his revolutionary predecessors.

With the same cunning, impudence, and audacity, that he allures, cheats, or oppresses French citizens, he undermines monarchy, and, in the persons of their representatives, insults and degrades foreign monarchs; shewing that he does not intend to respect the prerogative of lawful sovereigns more than the rights of free people, the independence of states more than the laws of nations or etiquette of courts. The vulgar language of the corps des gardes, and the commanding language of the camp, are oftener heard in the castles of the Thuilleries and St. Cloud, than the decorous conversation and dignified address of a chief magistrate and commander over one of the greatest and most civilized nations in the world. At Buonaparte's diplomatic audiences, at his military reviews or levees, at the court circle with his wife, the ambassadors of emperors and kings tremble and blush, not for themselves, but for the First Consul, who so often forgets his rank, and stoops to a behaviour and conversation which his lowest valet should

be

be ashamed to make use of among *his equals* in the republican servants'-hall or in the consular kitchen. It is true, the Temple is no longer in fashion, to teach *privileged* diplomatic agents the revolutionary laws of nations; but the First Consul, in the audience chamber at the Thuilleries, is often more illiberal, unfeeling, and ungenerous, than was formerly the FIRST JAILER over the official dungeons in the republican Temple-bastile.

When, in 1786, Louis XVI. went to Cherbourg, he was escorted by no more than *forty of his life-guards*: when Buonaparte, in 1803, went to Normandy and Brabant, his escort consisted of *twelve hundred horsemen*. All the expences for the journey which Louis XIV. made, did not amount to a *million of livres*, or forty-two thousand pounds; the *daily expences* of Buonaparte and his suite, during the late journey, were calculated by his minister Marbois at the rate of *six hundred thousand livres*, or twenty-five thousand pounds sterling. Such is the difference between the order and economy of a regular and paternal government, and the tyrannical one of an upstart and usurper; as extravagant now, as he was formerly poor and distressed.

Bourrienne, Buonaparte's confidential secretary.

tary, was last autumn dismissed with disgrace, and disgraced with *eclat*; some indiscreet observations, on what had come to his knowledge during the seven years that he shared the confidence, and perhaps the crimes, of Buonaparte, was the cause of a rupture, which many thought it impossible, because they believed it impolitic on the part of the Corsican. In hopes to regain favour, or with a design to revenge wrongs, Bourrienne published a pamphlet, called *The* Livre-Rouge *of the Consular Court, dedicated to the Economists, and other Modern Reformers.*

Before it could be offered to the public, the police at Paris seized it, and the author and printer were both sent to the Temple. With the exception of three copies, the whole was destroyed: from one of these copies we shall present the public with an extract.

Bourrienne's preface to this pamphlet contains no less than twenty-four pages, intended to prove the near connexion between revolutionary government and revolutionary finances; that the confusion of the one is inseparable from the anarchy of the other; and a decree of the First Consul, or a Senatus Consultus of his slavish senate, may as well declare it against the honour of the Great Nation to have any national debt,

as it has already decreed and declared it political to dishonour the Great Nation with a Corsican Consul for life.

It is a fact, says Bourrienne, which Frenchmen and Foreigners have not sufficiently attended to, that since our financial quacks, the economists, began to put their absurd theories into practice, we have no more order or regularity in our finances, than from practising the no less absurd and dangerous theories of our political quacks, we have received the blessings of liberty for our persons and principles, or the happiness of security for our property and possessions. So long as France continues to have no stable government, it will continue to have no finances; and the French government can never be called stable, whilst its stability depends upon the life of one individual, and that individual a foreigner, or at least no Frenchman, but a cruel and vile Corsican intriguer.

Mella jubes Hyblæa tibi vel Hymettia nasci,
Et *thyma* Cecropiæ Corsica ponis api.

MART.

The

	Francs*.
The annual civil list establishment of the First Consul, ...	24,000,000
His wardrobe, plate, china, the crown jewels that he has appropriated to his use, those plundered or extorted in Italy, Spain, and Portugal, ...	20,000,000
The private jewels, plate, &c. of Madame Buonaparte, ...	3,000,000
Her pin-money, annually, ...	1,000,000
For the establishment of Joseph Buonaparte, paid at once, ...	2,000,000
A yearly pension, ...	1,200,000
An annuity to four relations of Madame Joseph Buonaparte, ...	200,000
Presents to Joseph Buonaparte for his negotiations at Luneville, Amiens, &c.	1,500,000
The establishment of Lucien Buonaparte, ...	2,000,000
A yearly pension, ...	1,200,000
His wardrobe, china, plate, pictures, and the diamonds that he extorted from Spain and Portugal, ...	4,000,000

Annuities

* A franc is about tenpence halfpenny.

	Francs.
Annuities to the parents and relations of his late wife, daughter of an inn-keeper at St. Maximin,	200,000
Debts paid in France and Spain,	3,000,000
The establishment of Louis Buonaparte,	2,000,000
A yearly pension,	1,200,000
Debts paid at Berlin, and in other parts of Germany, in 1800, and 1801,	1,000,000
At his marriage,	600,000
Ditto to his wife, Mademoiselle Beauharnois,	600,000
At the birth of her child,	600,000
For an hotel at Paris, and two estates in the country, for the future establishment of Jerome Buonaparte,	1,500,000
A yearly pension until married,	600,000
Money deposited in foreign banks, in the name of Jerome Buonaparte,	1,000,000

THE FIRST CONSUL'S SISTERS.

	Francs.
1. Madame Bacchiochi, an establishment,	1,000,000
A yearly pension,	600,000
Presents in diamonds, &c.	600,000
To several of her husband's relations, annuities,	200,000
2. Madame Santa Cruce, an establishment,	1,000,000
A yearly pension,	600,000
Presents in diamonds, &c.	600,000
Annuities to two of her husband's relations,	100,000
3. Madame Murat, an establishment,	1,000,000
A yearly pension,	600,000
Presents in diamonds, &c.	600,000
To five of her husband's relations, annuities,	200,000
4. Madame Le Clerc, an establishment,	1,000,000
A yearly pension,	600,000
Presents in diamonds, &c.	600,000
Ditto for going to St. Domingo,	500,000

To

	Francs.
To some of her husband's relations, annuities, ...	300,000
To Madame Buonaparte, the Consul's mother, an establishment, ...	2,000,000
A yearly pension, ...	1,000,000
Presents, &c.	600,000
(As she lives mostly with the Consul, she distributes her pension among her other children).	
The Consul's uncle, the Archbishop of Lyons, an annuity, ...	600,000
For an establishment, ...	500,000
To pay for a library, ...	300,000
To eight poor cousins, and twelve more distant relations of the Consul, annuities, ...	500,000
To a butcher, a second cousin of the Consul, paid at once on condition of his not leaving Corsica, ...	300,000
Annuities to his wife and children, on the same condition, ...	50,000
To young Beauharnois, an annuity,	600,000
A present at his sister's marriage, ...	300,000
An hotel and an estate for his future establishment, ...	6,000,000
Paid for his debts, ...	1,200,000

	Francs.
To Madame La Pagerie (Madame Buonaparte's mother) for an establishment, ...	1,000,000
A yearly pension, ...	600,000
To six of her relations, annuities, ...	500,000
To fifty private spies of the First Consul, yearly, ...	300,000
Barrere's name is among them; but he is, besides, in another part of the Livre Rouge, a Censor over the Press, with a stipend of 12,000 francs. Pensions to 406 other persons, either distant relations of the Buonaparte family, or favourites; amongst others, Ruostan, the favourite Mameluke, of 24,000 francs; six women ruined by Lucien, of 3000 francs each; Madame Louis's dancing-master, of 3000 francs, &c. &c.	5,000,000
Secret service money among the household troops and in the interior of the castles of St. Cloud and the Thuilleries, annually, ...	1,500,000
The Second Consul, yearly, ...	2,000,000
To his relations, ditto, ...	200,000

The

	Francs.
The Third-Consul, yearly, ...	1,500,000
To his children, ditto, ...	300,000
To other relations, ditto, ...	200,000

(PRIVATE.)

SECRET EXPENCES OF THE FIRST CONSUL.

YEAR VIII.

To the members of the Council of Ancients, in Brumaire, year viii.	1,500,000
To ditto of the Council of Five Hundred, ditto, ...	3,000,000
To the Directorial Guard, ditto, ...	1,000,000
To General Le Fevre, for the military at and near Paris, ...	2,500,000
To the disposal of Fouché, ...	1,200,000
The Constitutional Committee, ...	2,000,000
For accelerating the acceptation of the Constitution, with addresses, &c.	6,000,000
The Army of the West, during the negotiation with the Royalists, ...	3,500,000
For the pacification of the Royalists,	2,400,000
To the Army in Switzerland, ...	1,200,000
To the Army in Germany, ...	2,000,000

	Francs.
To the Army on the War, and in Liguria,	1,000,000
Ditto in Egypt (Ventose),	1,500,000
Ditto of Reserve (Germinal),	600,000
To Adjutant Duroc at Berlin,	2,000,000
To Citizen Otto in England,	1,000,000
Ditto for the inspections over the Bourbons,	100,000
For ditto, ditto, in Poland and Holstein,	100,000
For ditto ditto and the Army of Condé,	200,000
Remitted to Madame Bonœille, for secret services in Russia,	800,000
To the different members of the Senate,	600,000
Ditto of the Legislative Corps,	600,000
Ditto of the Tribunate,	500,000
To twenty-five generals,	1,800,000
Distributed at Brest,	1,200,000
Ditto at Toulon,	600,000
Remitted to private agent at Vienna, in Floreal and Fructidor,	3,000,000
New remittances to the Army of Egypt, on account of some captures by the English,	1,200,000
To Generals Menou and D'Estaign,	1,000,000

YEAR IX.

	Francs.
To Louis Buonaparte at Berlin (Fri-maire), ...	1,500,000
Ditto at Konigsberg and Dantzig, for Russia, ...	3,000,000
For private information at the Armies of Moreau and Augereau, ...	1,200,000
Ditto at the Army of Interior, ...	600,000
Ditto at ditto against Portugal, ...	300,000
Ditto at ditto in Italy, Switzerland, and Holland, ...	300,000
To some leading members of the Senate, ...	500,000
Ditto of the Legislative Body, ...	300,000
Ditto of the Tribunate, ...	200,000
Remitted to Adjutant Lauriston at Copenhagen (Germinal), ...	600,000
Ditto to Adjutant Duroc at St. Petersburg, in Prairial, ...	3,000,000
Ditto to Citizen Otto in England, ...	1,200,000
Ditto to General Menou, ...	600,000
For the inspections over the Bourbons in England, Poland, and Germany, ...	600,000
Among the naval armies at Brest and Toulon, for secret information,	300,000

	Francs.
To sixteen generals, ...	800,000
For secret influence at the military special tribunals, ...	300,000

YEAR X.

For the return of some bishops and priests, ...	2,600,000
The Consulta at Lyons, ...	4,000,000
To some leading Members of the Senate, on the motion of the Consulate, for life, ...	800,000
Ditto, ...	700,000
Ditto of the Council of State, ditto,	600,000
Ditto of the Legislative Body, ditto,	500,000
Ditto of the Tribunate, ditto, ...	500,000
To the different Prefects, ditto, ...	12,000,000
To fifty generals, ditto, ...	3,500,000
To the different armies, ditto, ...	3,000,000
To the navy at Brest and Toulon, ditto, ...	600,000
For accelerating the votes and proposing addresses at Paris, to Fouché and Dubois, ...	300,000
Ditto in the departments, ...	3,000,000
For the inspection over the Bourbons, ...	600,000

Remitted

	Francs.
Remitted to Citizen Otto, ...	500,000
For the private inspection over the ministers, and at their offices, ...	100,000
Among the military at Paris, per General Junot, ...	100,000
Ditto in the departments, ...	4,000,000

To prove with what indifference and profusion millions are squandered away, and with what contempt the squandered millions are accounted for, the *budget presented to the Legislative Body at its last meeting, in February* 1803, *and published in the official Moniteur*, contains the following concise narration, how nearly three millions sterling have been expended.

YEAR IX.

32 millions expended in negotiations (pour frais des negotiations).

YEAR X.

10 millions unforeseen expences (depences imprevues).

15,505,000 francs expended in negotiations (pour frais des negotiations).

Let those who complain of the shew and prodigality of princes, who libel the expences attending monarchical governments, who praise

the simplicity and economy of republican administrators, who speak of the absurdity of hereditary sovereignty, and of the advantage of electing rulers—let them read the above authentic extract, and then say what France has gained by exchanging an ancient monarchy for a fashionable commonwealth, a Bourbon for a Buonaparte*.

People who have not resided for some time in revolutionary France, can form no idea of the disorder that reigns in her finances, of the uncertainty and insecurity of property, of the total want of confidence, of the scarcity of money, of the immorality and crimes of her government, and of the vices and slavery of her inhabitants. Of France it may truly be said, for these last eleven years, that

> Her slaves are soldiers, and her soldiers slaves!
> Her knaves are rulers, and her rulers knaves.

And, in fact, any upstart in place or in affluence, who is even notoriously known to have committed murders and assassinations, to have intrigued

* The Author sent this extract of the Livre Rouge to the Editor of those well-conducted papers the British Press and the Globe, and it appeared in them both, August 13th, 1803.

trigued, robbed, betrayed or plundered ever so much, *is respected as an irreproachable character.* Many good and innocent persons have, besides, since the Revolution, been suspected, accused, judged and condemned by former factions as criminals; this has introduced a confusion in ideas, advantageous to those really guilty and deserving of punishment; the public opinion is therefore always uncertain and hesitating about the innocence or guilt of the accused. But the immoral indifference and cowardly baseness of the French republicans would be incredible, were it not manifest, that notwithstanding they are convinced of the enormous crimes, both of the First Consul and of most of his senators, of his counsellors of state, &c. crimes that, under a regular government, and in a country where honour, morality, and religion were revered, would long ago have forced them to descend from power, and to renounce their rank and riches for a gibbet, the galleys, or a prison;—they continue to submit to Buonaparte as they did to Robespierre, and speak of the *great virtues* of the former in 1803, as they did of the *unparalleled humanity* of the latter in 1793. On all others, as well as on the present king of faction, the prostitution of praise, and every degree of enco-

miastic veneration, have been bestowed. Terms peculiar to the adoration and worship of the Supreme Being have been applied to Marat and Robespierre, as well as to Buonaparte; wretches, all, whom it was the reproach of humanity to number among men, and whom nothing but riches and power, fear or meanness, prevented those who published or proclaimed their deification from hunting into the toils of justice, as disturbers of the peace of nations.

In a pamphlet called "La Sainte Famille," the following calculation is made and published, of the number of persons who had perished by the commands of Napoleone Buonaparte, before he was firmly seated upon the republican throne of France as a First Consul.

In December 1793, Brutus Buonaparte commanded the cannons and bayonets which killed, or rather murdered, twelve hundred, men, women, and children, at Toulon. In October 1795, eight thousand men, women, and children, were butchered in the streets of Paris, by Barras, Buonaparte, and his satellites. During the campaigns of 1796 and 1797, in Italy and Carinthia, according to the official report in the war-office, twenty-six thousand four hundred and sixty French citizens were killed by the enemy on

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the fields of battle, and nine thousand three hundred and fifty-two perished in the hospitals; of whom the author of the pamphlet supposes *at least three thousand* to have been *strangled, poisoned,* or *buried alive,* by the orders of Buonaparte, after having been dangerously wounded in combating for this atrocious general. During the same campaign, according to Berthier's, and other generals' reports, upwards of forty-four thousand enemies in arms were killed, besides fourteen thousand two hundred disarmed inhabitants. Men, women and children, who perished in cities, towns, and villages given up to pillage, taken by storm, put under military execution, or who were stabbed and shot, or burned alive as insurgents, as refractory, or as fanatics.

Buonaparte's expedition to Egypt and to Syria, and the battle of Aboukir, cost the lives of twenty-two thousand Frenchmen, forty thousand inhabitants in Egypt, and six thousand in Syria; and, according to Menou's account, thirty-six thousand Turks and English were killed by the republicans or by the climate. (The number of Frenchmen poisoned in the hospitals by the orders of Ali Buonaparte, Menou does not mention). During the campaign of 1800, in Italy, Switzerland, and Germany, and

until the Peace of Luneville ensured Buonaparte's usurpation, twenty-six thousand eight hundred Frenchmen died on the field of battle, or in the hospitals; and, according to Moreau's, Berthier's, Massena's, and Macdonald's accounts, more than double that number of enemies perished in the same campaigns. And thus upwards of three hundred thousand lives have been sacrificed to procure Buonaparte a rank and a power, of which he makes no other use than to confer an organized misery and slavery on mankind, by a continual oppression, plunder, and tyranny; by his religious and political hypocrisy, as much as by his revolutionary plots, pretensions, intrigues, and agitations.

Thanks to the courageous, loyal, and able historian, Sir Robert Wilson, who relating in a style equally pure, nervous, elevated, and clear, incontrovertible facts, has exposed the hitherto unheard of, or disbelieved, atrocities of Napoleone Buonaparte, and made the world more intimately acquainted with the principles and conduct of this fortunate, but misconceived man; and proved, that neither command nor affluence, neither authority nor prosperity, neither a throne nor popularity, "*can make a villain great.*" Success has sometimes meliorated the sanguinary

cha-

characters of former usurpers. The Emperor Augustus was very different from the Triumvir Octavius; but the tyranny and ferocity of Buonaparte increases with his prosperity; and the fortunate First Consul never ceases to exhibit the cruel character of the adventurer and terrorist Brutus Buonaparte at Toulon of 1793, of the jacobin and murderer Barras Buonaparte at Paris of 1795, and of the poisoner and butcher, Ali Buonaparte, at Jaffa, of 1799.

Future ages, more happy, more independent, and more impartial, will do the British Nation that justice, and bestow on it that admiration, which, terrified by revolutionary threats, and gained over by *regicide* indemnities, some cotemporaries have refused; and draw an honourable conclusion concerning the spirit, patriotism, and morality of modern Britons, from the irreconcileable hatred with which they have been distinguished by all French rebels and regicides, of all factions, of all parties, and of all constitutions; by the Brissot, Danton, Marat, and Robespierre of the year one, as well as by the Talleyrand, Rœderer, Fouché, and Buonaparte of the year twelve.

As to Napoleone Buonaparte, either considered as a powerful usurper or as a private citi-

zen, either as a warrior or as a politician, it has before been justly said, "That success may, for inscrutable purposes, continue to attend him.—Abject senates may decree him a throne, or the pantheon; but history shall render injured humanity justice, and an indignant posterity inscribe on his cenotaph:

"'Ille venena Colchica,
Et quicquid usquam concipitur nefas,
Tractavit.'" *

* Some rebels and regicides have lately transformed Napoleone Buonaparte into an Emperor of the French; and next year we shall probably hear that these same criminals are building temples, and erecting altars, for their worthy idol! !!

MADAME

MADAME NAPOLEONE BUONAPARTE.

"It is the fall degrades her to a whore;
Let greatness own her, and she's mean no more."

POPE.

JOSEPHINE LA PAGERIE was married at the age of twenty-two to Viscount Alexander de Beauharnois, then second major in a regiment of infantry; a rank which he owed, not to his military capacity, but to his assiduity at Versailles, in the ante-chambers of favourites and ministers; and to his reputation among the courtiers, of being an agreeable and able dancer. The marriage of the rich Mademoiselle la Pagerie with the poor Viscount de Beauharnois, was concluded from love and affection on one part, and from interest and necessity on the other; because de Beauharnois was both in debt, and some years younger than his wife. Both were born at Martinique, and educated in France; and both descended from noble but obscure or reduced families, who had transplanted themselves to the

West Indies, in expectation of making in the colonies a fortune, of which they had neither a prospect nor a hope in their mother country.

Notwithstanding that Monsieur and Madame de Beauharnois were, soon after their marriage, introduced at court, and presented to the king and to the royal family, yet their usual society chiefly consisted of persons who, like themselves, possessed some property, no claim to eminence, but great envy towards those who with riches united distinction and favour. Both sexes of this society were immoral citizens, ambitious and dangerous intriguers, and the principal though indirect plotters and conspirators both against the throne and the altar, against the privileges of the nobility and clergy, as well as against the happiness and tranquillity of Frenchmen in general. Talleyrand, Charles and Alexander La Methe, Beaumetz, La Tour Maubeuge, Sillery, and Flahault, were some of the persons most visited by Madame de Beauharnois and her husband; characters who have, with their ladies, more or less figured in the French revolutionary annals, and prepared, by their atheistical, disaffected, and seditious conversations and writings, the subversion of the monarchical govern-

ment,

ment, and the wretchedness of France and Europe. They were known *frondeurs*, as the French called them; or, what is the same, sticklers against the government, without cause or reason, as well as without shame, gratitude, duty, or policy. Among these coteries of the *second* class, or petty nobility, vice walked barefaced, and the sacred ties of matrimony were less respected than in *the first* class, otherwise reported, or *rather calumniated*, as the most debauched and unprincipled; though a regard to their names, and to the known virtuous character of Louis XVI. forced many of them at least to save the appearance of virtue, or to be discreet in their vices, and to avoid all scandal and publicity, as the only means of preserving the good opinion and favour of their prince. This was not the case with the *familiar* company of Monsieur and Madame de Beauharnois: burning with desire to become notorious, their constant and criminal emulation was to obtain an infamous applause, to be fashionable in the immoral French capital, and to gain renown by making the public acquainted with their reciprocal intrigues, their mutual infidelities, and their equal refinements in vice and debauchery. The gallants of Madame de Beauharnois were therefore as numerous

rous as they were notorious; and her vanity was no doubt flattered, at hearing that her amours were the common topic of conversation not only at Versailles, but at Paris, in the theatres, as well as in the coffee-houses. In March 1789, at the hotel of the Countess de F—, (the *bonne amie* of Talleyrand) Madame de Beauharnois said, in the large circle of ladies and gentlemen assembled there, and in the presence of Mr. de Beauharnois, that, *of her several pregnancies, she could not reproach her husband with any, except the first, which ended in a miscarriage.* This sally was heard, commended, and envied by all the ladies present; and the next day trumpeted about Paris by the gentlemen, and laughed at or admired every where. A few days afterwards, when Madame de Beauharnois appeared in her box at the opera, she was saluted with the repeated applauses of the *good* and *virtuous* Parisians, who then were preparing the moral regeneration of France, of Europe, and of the world *.

Mr. de Beauharnois had about this period been chosen, by the nobility of the bailiwick of Blois, a de-

* La Chronique Scandaleuse, de l'an. 1789, chez. Barrée, à Paris, pag. 121 and 122.

a deputy to the States-General. Dazzled by this honour, and by the flattery which *his friends* paid to the charms of his wife and to the good dinners of her cook, and convinced of his own superiority in dancing, he thought himself a man of consequence; and, to prove himself such, determined, with a degree of impudence, as dishonourable as ineffectual, in gratitude for all the favours and benefactions that he had received from the generous bounty of Louis XVI. to declaim, and to declare his implacable enmity to this Sovereign and to the Royal Family. But, in the assembly of the States-General, afterwards called the National Assembly, when he ascended the tribune, he read his treacherous speeches with an ostentation which his chilling and unfeeling voice made ridiculous; and the orator was as contemptible as the traitor was detestable. His accomplices, La Fayette and La Methe, however, caused him, notwithstanding his want of abilities, to be elected, in June 1791, president of this National Assembly; and, as such, he signed the proclamation addressed to the French people, when Louis XIV. was arrested at Varennes. In October of the same year, he made his peace with the court, was promoted to the rank of adjutant-general, and served as such

General Biron, when the French troops, in April 1792, were routed near Mons.

Beauharnois was the friend of La Fayette as long as he was popular; but afterwards joined his enemy and successor in popularity, Dumourier; and when the latter was proscribed, he courted Custine, whom, when proscribed also in his turn, he succeeded in the command over the Army of the Rhine; which place he, contrary to the wishes of the jacobins, desired to resign, but was forced to occupy until August 1793, when the representatives of the people suspended him from all functions, and ordered him to retire above twenty leagues from the frontiers. He was soon afterwards, with his wife, arrested as suspected persons; and on the 23d of July, 1794, he was sent to the guillotine, as an accomplice in the imaginary conspiracy of the prisons. The day before his execution he wrote a long letter to his wife, in which he recommended to her, in the true republican style, *her* children; and *in particular not to neglect to re-establish his memory and reputation, by proving "that* HIS WHOLE LIFE *had been consecrated to serve liberty and equality**." This revolutionary hypo-

* See Le Dictionnaire Biographique, vol. i. art. Beauharnois.

hypocrisy of a man who had been twenty years a courtier, and only four a patriot, will not seem surprising, when it is considered that at this time liberty and equality were very fashionable words in republican France, and Mr. de Beauharnois no doubt intended to die as he had lived, a fashionable man. It is said, however, that when he ascended the scaffold of the guillotine, he exclaimed, "*If I had served my King with the same zeal and fidelity as I have done his murderers, he would have rewarded me in a different manner.*" It is a consolation to proscribed and suffering loyalty, and an evidence that Providence does not always permit successful crime to remain unpunished, that most of the nobles who revolted against their lawful Sovereign, have either perished by the hands of *their* sovereign people, or what is worse, and more painful both to real patriots, and to patriotic intriguers, are forced to live the abject slaves of the vilest of all tyrants, and to endure, under a foreign usurper, a bondage as dishonourable as oppressive, after sacrificing the real liberty which they enjoyed under the best of all the French kings*.

During

* See Le Recueil d'Anecdotes, pag. 159.

During the revolutionary career of General Beauharnois, his wife lost many of her former friends; either by emigration, as the two brothers La Methe; by proscription, as Talleyrand and La Fayette; or by the guillotine, as Barnave, Sillery, and Flahault. It was, therefore, when at Strasburgh in July 1793, her intention to emigrate; which her husband prevented, however, by sending her back to Paris; where, soon after, she, like him, was immured; but not in the same prison.

It has been said, and believed every where, that in 1794, to save her life, Madame de Beauharnois threw herself into the arms of one of the indirect murderers both of her husband and of her king; and that she had no choice left but the impure embraces of the regicide Barras, or death from the republican guillotine. That it was not from necessity, however, but from a vicious habit and scandalous perversity, that she began to intrigue with Barras, was at the time well known at Paris, and may easily be proved in London. General Beauharnois was beheaded on the 23d of July 1794, five days before the death of Robespierre, and six days before the guillotine ceased to kill *en masse*. In the 25th number of Fouquier Thionville's printed lists (counting

from

the day which made her a widow) Madame de Beauharnois's name was inscribed*; and had not Robespierre perished, she would certainly have ascended the scaffold in her turn; and Barras was the last of all the conventional regicides who could have saved her, being himself marked out upon an anterior list, as one of Robespierre's first victims. Besides, when Madame de Beauharnois, on the 24th of Thermidor, or 12th of August, 1794, recovered her liberty, she was released, not by Barras, but by the Parisian butcher and representative of the French people, the regicide Legendre, who *kindly protected* her for some time in his house, where she made acquaintance both with Madame Tallien and with Barras, who, to the great disappointment of Legendre, in September of the same year, caused the seals to be taken off her house

* After the death of Robespierre, seals were put on all the papers of the Revolutionary Tribunal, which were delivered to the Committee of Public Safety. Among these papers were found 36 lists of persons who were arrested or suspected, and, in the 36 following days, were destined for the guillotine. Barras's name was upon the ninth list, and Madame de Beauharnois's name upon the twenty-fifth. Some of these lists contained 80 names, others 60, 40, &c. but none less than 32 names; they were all signed Fouquier Thionville, public accuser, and printed during his trial.

house in the Rue de Victoires; and to *protect* her in his turn, he occupied an apartment in her house, until he exchanged it in October 1795 for the Palace of Luxembourg, and procured her, in his accomplice Napoleone Buonaparte, a husband to cover the *embarrassed* state to which she was at that period reduced, by her intimacy and connexion with him as her lover *.

All those ladies of noble families in France, whose licentiousness got the better of their duty during the Revolution (and to the honour of the sex they are not many), have made their *pretended* dangers an apology for their *real* guilt. Danger was the excuse of Madame de Fontenay, for marrying the regicide Septembrizer Tallien; of the Duchess of Fleury, for divorcing herself to marry a gamester; of the Marchioness of Bourdemont, for marrying her coachman; and of Madame de Beauharnois, for living in adultery with the married jacobin Barras. But the revolutionary crimes of the revolutionary factions are manifest, public, and numerous enough, without any augmentation from libertinism to extenuate private corruption; and if those ladies who, like the Princess of Monaco, the Duchess of Biron, and the Marchioness de St. Luc, preferred

* See La Sainte Famille, page 29.

ferred death to infamy, deserve the warmest admiration; those who forget themselves, when surrounded by the examples of the martyrs of loyalty and religion, and with the scaffolds of virtue and innocence, and who, in those dreadful days gave loose to their vile passions, deserve to be exhibited both as a shame to themselves, and as a warning to others whom future revolutions may tempt to future imitation and degradation.

While Madame de Beauharnois thus, in company with Barras, consoled herself for the loss of her husband, Madame Tallien, a beautiful woman, but whose character is as depraved as her form is perfect, was the then fashionable idol of the gay, corrupt, and giddy Parisians. These two female friends of Barras soon became rivals in the Scandalous Chronicles, in which were recorded their mutual efforts to outshine each other; to make conquests, and to desert the conquered; to change lovers, as they changed their clothes; and to exhibit at the theatres, in the public walks and assemblies, their new and motley suitors, as impudently as their more than half naked persons*.

During

* It is well known in France, that the naked fashion was invented

During the years 1795 and 1796, Madame Tallien always had the precedence in the Parisian popularity and favour, and was the most fashionable idol of those times. Madame Beauharnois gained no applause or approbation when her second marriage was known. Her *choice*, Napoleone Buonaparte, was the detestation and abhorrence of all Paris, where he, two months before, had made so many widows and orphans; and even his *brilliant* campaign of 1796, in Italy, caused the Parisians to shudder at the very name of the victor Buonaparte, whom they always remembered and regarded as a murderer.

By the peace of Campo Formio, or rather by the revolution of the 18th Fructidor, or 4th of September, 1797, Buonaparte silenced, without reconciling, his enemies. The flatterers of his fortune,

vented in 1794, in consequence of the executioners custom of tearing off ladies' handkerchiefs and part of their gowns, in order to uncover their shoulders before they were guillotined! Madame Napoleone and Madame Tallien were the first who, after the death of Robespierre, shewed themselves thus naked to the public, and who invented the red wigs, shawls, and handkerchiefs, in imitation of the red shirts with which the pretended conspirators against the republic of regicides were dressed when carried to execution. It is hardly possible to invent fashions from more atrocious or cruel occurrences. The head-dress, *à la Titus*, originated from the executioners' cutting off the hair of those condemned to be guillotined.

fortune, however, caused his wife to share in his triumph, and forced Madame Tallien to renounce, or at least to admit a partner upon, the throne of fashion, which for two years she had occupied without any rival; and though Madame Napoleone (*ci-devant* de Beauharnois) was advanced in years, and never had been a beauty, the Notre Dame des Victoires, as the military called her, was more the talk of the day, than Notre Dame de Septembre, as the royalists had styled Madame Tallien, on account of her marriage with a regicide, who was, besides, a Septembrizer.

When Buonaparte sailed for Egypt, in May 1798, he left his wife in greater affluence than he had found her in 1795: in distress at that period himself, he had married her for her property, and not from any attachment to her person. The amiable and insinuating manners of Madame Napoleone, however, made some impression upon the mind of an unfeeling, cruel, and ambitious man, who, no doubt, took that for love which could only be vanity or interest; and he left his wife, if his own letters are to be believed, *with regret*, or probably with fear that more riches, more notoriety, and more means to attract the attention of the public, would make

an already vain and dissolute character still more criminal. Buonaparte was not mistaken. According to the pamphlet called "La Sainte Famille," his mother's letters overtook him at Malta, with information, "that his wife, the same day that she received information of his departure from Toulon, had left Paris for Grosbois, and settled herself with her former protector Barras; who had caused great complaint, and attached great scandal to the other Directors, by having deserted his duty and the Luxembourg for his scenes of debauchery at Grosbois; where, besides several noted courtezans, were Madame Tallien, Madame Napoleone Buonaparte, Madame Killmain, Madame Guidal, Madame Grand, General Verdier, Talleyrand, &c. &c. all persons whose examples it was well known might ruin the morals of a republic even more vicious than the French*. It was in consequence of this maternal information, that Napoleone wrote, on the 25th of July, 1798, a letter from Cairo to his brother Joseph: in which he said, "I have many domestic troubles and family vexations; the veil is entirely withdrawn: you alone remain to me upon earth; your friendship is very dear

* See La Sainte Famille, page 37.

dear to me: nothing is wanting to make me *a complete misanthrope*, but that I should lose you, or that you should betray me. Such is my melancholy situation! *I possess all possible sentiments for this same person, whilst another reigns in her heart!* You understand what I mean." The tender-hearted, humane, unambitious Napoleone to become a misanthrope, because his *worthy* wife intrigued with the same regicide with whom she lived in open adultery at the time when he married her! he, who with *sang froid*, if not with pleasure, had commanded the murder, poisoning, &c. of so many thousand individuals of both sexes, of all ages! this Corsican hypocrisy probably could not dupe even his so partial Corsican brother. A man at the head of forty thousand armed banditti, employed in plundering the country and butchering the subjects of a *friendly* and *allied* power, must make a very novel and curious misanthrope indeed!

After the issue of the battle of Aboukir became known in France, the policy of Barras got the better of his amour; and, following the example and conduct of the other Directors, he rather shunned than courted the company of a lady

whose husband, by his absurd imprudent orders to the French admiral, had caused the destruction of more than half the remaining French navy: which great national loss excited a general clamour and discontent all over France. Even the son of the Director Rewbel, who had long been dying of love for Mademoiselle Fanny de Beauharnois (the daughter of Madame Napoleone *during* her first marriage), and to whom he was betrothed, broke off a match which Lord Nelson's victory had made ominous *. To augment Madame Napoleone's chagrin and humiliation, her former defeated rival, Madame Tallien, again usurped and assumed the reign of fashion, was again followed at Tivoli, at Frescati, and in other public walks or gardens; was again exclusively admired at the directorial and ministerial assemblies; and was again applauded at the opera and in the Theatre de Feydeaux; again her pictures were exposed in the Palais Royal and in the Rue St. Honoré; and again her beauty was sung in the Boulevards, and at the Theatre

* Neither Madame nor her Napoleone can forgive Barras and Rewbel for their conduct at this period; neither of these former kings of faction were therefore ever able to procure a place in the *Consular* Senate, though it became the common receptacle for every *thing* vile, vicious, corrupted, and guilty.

Theatre de Vaudeville. To console herself for so many misfortunes, which the troublesome visits of her own and her husband's creditors did not diminish, Madame Napoleone resigned the pleasures and delicious pretensions of her *boudoirs*, for the deceitful golden prospect of the gaming table, and for the petites soupées of the gamester, where Burgundy and Champagne made her often forget, with herself, both Barras and Napoleone, and the rouleaus of Louis-d'ors of which an unkind fortune had deprived her. In the spring of 1799, Madame Napoleone was reduced to such distress, that not only the diamonds and jewels which her Napoleone had collected for her in Italy were in the hands of pawnbrokers and usurers, but an execution in her house was only prevented by *the then anonymous* pecuniary assistance of General Moreau. If the Scandalous Chronicle can be believed, and the reports in the Luxembourg circles were true, Madame Napoleone tried all sorts of expedients to extricate herself from her difficulties; and even to raise succours for her present wants and extravagance, upon the ruins of her former attractive, but now faded charms*.

When

* See La Sainte Famille, page 40.

When the spoiled child of fortune, Napoleone Buonaparte, from an infamous deserter became a powerful First Consul; and when victory and the peace of Luneville and of Amiens had respected the claims of his usurpations, Madame Napoleone had not to fear any rival upon the throne of fashion, more than her husband had upon the republican throne of France. It was now, therefore, no longer a question about the petty intrigues of the petty *boudoirs*, of the petty cabals of the petty minor beauties, such as Madame Tallien, Madame Recamier, Madame Marmont: the First Consul had decreed, "that Madame Napoleone, in the castle of queens, in the apartments of queens, with the treasures of queens, and with vices and vanity above all queens, should play in a *decent* manner all the parts of a queen." To begin this task, all former familiar acquaintances were to be set aside, thereby convincing the republican world, that at the age of forty-six, Madame Napoleone was born to be a queen, to give splendour to the throne of a queen, and to do honour to the rank of a queen. Madame Tallien therefore received, through the prefect of the palace, Duroc, orders not to appear any longer at the castle of the Thuilleries; Madame Napoleone not being able

endure the presence of a woman who had two children during her husband's absence*; any more than the First Consul, who had been a poisoner and Septembrizer *only* at Jaffa, could suffer the fraternity of his friend Tallien, who had been a regicide and Septembrizer *only* at Paris.

All old debts and demands of money, all *ancient* pretensions to familiarity, and all public complaints for *injury*, neglect, or ingratitude, were privately settled by Citizen Fouché, in the Temple at Paris, or by his satellites, in the wilds of Cayenne.

This done, it yet remained for her to be instructed in the etiquette of queens and of courts; for Madame Napoleone had only been four times in her life at the Court of Versailles, and not above an hour each time. Napoleone himself had now regular lessons from the actor Talma, to declaim and talk like a king; from Vestris, to salute and dance like a king; from Benezeth, to

* When Duroc delivered his message, Madame Tallien said, "Tell *your mistress*, that if all Paris knows that I had two children during Tallien's absence in Egypt for near four years, her miscarriage during General Buonaparte's absence of only sixteen months, has been admired by all Paris as the last efforts of nature in an old woman."—*La Sainte Famille*, page 44.

to eat and drink like a king; from Talleyrand, to confer and negotiate like a king; and from Segur, to smile, to sneeze, and to sneer like a king. To instruct Madame Napoleone, after long consultation with Madame Genlis, and with Madame Stael, all the former court ladies who escaped the republican guillotine were put in a state of requisition; but to his great disappointment, hearing at the Thuilleries the continuance of the language of the Rue des Victoires, the First Consul discovered that those ladies had conspired to make his spouse a ridiculous gossip, instead of an amiable and elegant queen. After ordering these female conspirators thirty leagues from the Thuilleries, the faithful servant of all work, Fouché, was again applied to, and, by the activity of his agents of police, *alias* spies, found out a lady, whose patriotism to serve the cause of the Revolution, or, what is the same, the cause of Buonaparte, could not be doubted. Madame Campan had, at the beginning of the Revolution, a place as chamber-maid to the late queen of France; which she lost in June 1791, as a person more than suspected of having given La Fayette and his accomplices information concerning the prepara-

s of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette to th

their unfortunate journey to Varennes. Since that period, Madame Campan had resided at Versailles, where she kept a republican boarding-school, in which the Sunday of the Christians had given way to the revolutionary decade; and under her care Mademoiselle Fanny de Beauharnois had been educated for some time. The lessons of Madame Campan had a wonderful effect upon the superannuated genius, manners, and allurements of the superannuated person of Madame Napoleone, who, to the visible satisfaction of her Consular husband, was in a short time as accomplished a queen as he was a king*.

In the French republic of *equality*, to be presented to this republican queen, *a certificate of presentation* at the court of his own sovereign, was as indispensable for a foreigner, as it was for him in the French republic of *liberty*, if he wished to avoid imprisonment, or interruption on the high roads or in the streets, to be always provided *with a pass in his pocket*. The duty, discretion, and judgment of the foreign diplomatic agents were never confided in; certificates and

* See La Sainte Famille, page 45.

and passes must be produced, inspected, revised, and approved at the office of Talleyrand, at the prefecture over the palace, as well as at the prefecture over the police, before the drawing-room of Madame Napoleone could be entered. With such severity was this regulation enforced, that when the agents from the Imperial cities, Hamburgh, Bremen, Lubeck, Frankfort, and Nuremberg, demanded to bow before Madame Napoleone, they were not admitted till a whole decade had passed in consultations and deliberations: an express was sent to Versailles for Madame Campan, and to the Theatre Française for Madame Raucourt; the Court Section of the Council of State was convoked, and obliged to give their written decision, that "an exception for producing court certificates was admissible *only* for the deputies of the Imperial cities, *because their sovereign citizens had no courts, no kings, and no queens**.

It was after the peace of Amiens that Buonaparte first put in requisition the Senate, Council of State, Cardinals, Bishops, Judges, Tribunes, Prefects, Legislators, and his whole pack of

* See Les Nouvelles à la Main, Thermidor, an xi. No. viii. page 12 and 13.

of revolutionary gentry, to praise the beauty, modesty, and virtue of his wife, as much as his own humanity, greatness, and generosity. But it was between the preliminaries and the definitive treaty with England, that the First Consul, *in his wisdom*, decreed the exhibition of his wife to the best advantage, during his journies to the provinces; he therefore dragged her with him to the Italian Consulta, at Lyons, in January 1802, where she was officially complimented. It was, however, in his journey of the year 1803, on the coast, and in Brabant, that the most disgusting and fulsome flattery and adulation were bestowed *en masse* upon the consular couple, and where revolutionary cardinals and bishops sacrilegiously blasphemed the Creator, by styling an atrocious usurper His Providence. They have scandalized all Europe, dishonoured their rank in the church, and debased their characters as citizens. They have tried to degrade the whole female sex, by repeatedly holding up Madame Napoleone as "THE MODEL OF HER SEX, *of manners as simple as her morals were pure, with innocence in her looks and virtue in her heart**."

Those,

* These were the very words of the Bishops of Rouen, Amiens, Ghent, Malines, Brussels, &c. &c.

Those, and other republican public functionaries their cowardly imitators, must be consigned to infamy without vindication, for having deserted the cause of religion and virtue, and committed, against full conviction, the crime of obliterating the distinction between good and evil, innocence and guilt; and instead of opposing the encroachments of wickedness and vice, having incited their progress, and celebrated their conquests.

Though Madame Napoleone disposes at present of thousands of Louis-d'ors, as she did formerly of livres and shillings, she is, by her extravagance in dress, and by her gambling, several millions of livres in debt. Lately at Brussels, she lost in six days, at cards and dice, fifty thousand Louis-d'ors, paid for her by the minister of the national treasury, Marbois. According to the periodical print, *Les Nouvelles à la Main*, of Vendemiaire, year xii. or October 1803, Madame Napoleone never puts on any plain gown twice, and she changes her dress four or six times every day. In the summer, she makes use of four dozen of silk stockings, and three dozen of gloves and shoes; and in the winter three dozen of the best *English* cotton stockings, and two dozen of French silk stockings,

ings, *every week*. She never wears any washed stockings, nor puts on twice the same pair of gloves or shoes. All her *chemises* are of the finest cambric, with borders of lace that cost ten Louis-d'ors each. Six dozen of chemises with lace are made up for her every month. Every three months she exchanges her diamonds and jewels, or has them newly set, according to the prevalent fashion. Four times in the year her plate, china, furniture, tapestry, hangings, carpets, &c. are changed according to the seasons. She has ordered, as her regular establishment, two new carriages and twelve different horses every month: and of the thirty-six horses in her *private* stable, her master of the horse has a power to dispose of twelve every three decades, to be replaced by twelve others of a fashionable colour. Twelve times in the year, all persons belonging to her household receive new accoutrements or liveries. Her own wardrobe is divided every thirty days between her maids of honour.

Madame Napoleone has four distinct established wardrobes, different diamonds, &c. for travelling, for the Thuilleries, for St. Cloud, and for Malmaison; and though she can reside

but in one place at the same time, yet in the Thuilleries, as well as at St. Cloud and Malmaison, four changes of furniture, &c. are always ordered for the same period. At St. Cloud, she has (at the expence of six thousand Louis-d'ors) improved the bathing cabinet of the late unfortunate queen. By touching certain springs, she can command what perfumes her caprice demands to mix with the water; the reservoirs always containing, for fifty Louis-d'ors, the finest odours, and best perfumed waters. By touching other springs, she commands the appearance of drawings or pictures, elegant or voluptuous, gay or libertine, as her fancy desires. When she wishes to leave the bath, at the signal of a bell, she is, by a mechanical invention, lifted, without moving herself from the bathing machine, into an elegant moderately warm and perfumed bed, where she is dried in two minutes; and from which she is again lifted and laid down upon a splendid elastic sofa, moved, without her stirring, by another piece of mechanism, into an adjoining cabinet for her toilet, of which the furniture and decorations cost 100,000 livres. For the improvements only of her luxurious, though less expensive bathing cabinets, at the Thuilleries

and

and at Malmaison, the French republic has paid 200,000 livres.

To shew her pretensions to equality with empresses and queens, Madame Napoleone bespoke at Brussels two magnificent lace gowns, made after the pattern of one presented by the consistent Belgians to the model of her sex, her Consular Majesty. One of these gowns was destined for the Empress of Russia, and the other for the Queen of Prussia. The former, report says, has, to the great humiliation of Madame Napoleone, been declined; the French republicans, however, do not doubt but that the latter will be accepted, because they remember perfectly well, that the Queen of Prussia presented at Berlin, in 1799, to Buonaparte's emissary Duroc, a scarf of the Prussian guards; and her Majesty cannot therefore refuse a gown of honour offered from the *amiable* wife of Duroc's master.

As no happiness is perfect in this world, Madame Napoleone, though equally adored by her husband and by the French Republic, has numerous and serious family misfortunes to complain of. Her mother-in-law calumniates her *innocent* motives for not going regularly to confession; and her brother-in-law, Lucien, calls her a hypocrite when she talks of confessing. Her sister-in-

law,

law, Madame Murat, is a dangerous rival in extravagance and in the fashions of the day; and another sister-in-law, the Princess Borghese, *ci-devant* Madame Le Clerc, is an intolerable mimic of her juvenile airs, gait, and dress, contrasted with her antique wrinkles, plump person, and worn-out voice. Sometimes, in his moments of frenzy, when he doubts of being soon proclaimed the English First Consul, even her Napoleone himself does not use her in the most tender manner. But instead of imitating her mother-in-law, who in her troubles calls her confessor and conjurors to her assistance, Madame Napoleone sends for her cup-bearer, vulgarly called butler, to strengthen her nerves and invigorate her courage with his all-powerful cordials, with his delicious wines, and with his no less delicious liqueurs: and while one Madame Buonaparte in her calamities looks up for relief to heaven, the other, more timid, more modest, with her downcast regards, seeks for, and implores the consolation of her cellar and of her buffet*.

Of the children that Madame Napoleone had *during*

* See Les Nouvelles à la Main, Fructidor, an xi. No. iii. page 5 and 6.

during her first marriage, two only are living. Eugenius de Beauharnois, who is a consular colonel of the guides in the consular guard; and Fanny de Beauharnois, married to Louis Buonaparte, the brother of Napoleone, a consular colonel of a consular regiment of dragoons*.

* During the late emperor-making, Madame Napoleone has been metamorphosed into an empress of the French empire!!!

EUGENIUS DE BEAUHARNOIS.

EUGENIUS DE BEAUHARNOIS is a brutal, unfeeling, debauched young man, whom neither brilliant regimentals, the rank of his parents, nor the endeavours of his tutors, could ever change, or prevent from being considered (as Madame de P— said) "a real sans-culottes, with the ill-fitted mask of a gentleman; possessing the vulgar manners of one of the sovereign mob, with the pretensions to be respected as a man of consequence." At the age of twenty two, he *modestly* prides himself on keeping *no more* than six mistresses; one of them, Mademoiselle Chameroy, an actress at the opera, was killed last year when in a state of pregnancy by his brutality. He boasts, that when his mother refuses to furnish money for his profusion and licentiousness, by threatening her with the *delicate* appellation *la vieille p*— (an old w—), he can command whatever sums he wants. He lately presented Madame Clotilde, of the opera, with a watch set in diamonds, worth 30,000 livres, to pass the night in her company, only to

gratify the childish vanity of disappointing a Russian Prince, who according to Les Nouvelles à la Main, from which this account is taken) had already paid her two hundred Louis for the same night. In 1801 he went with his regiment through Besançon; and at the Fête Nationale was detected in the act of the adultery by her husband, who, after giving him a severe horse-whipping, and returning the gem-, or jewel-box, as a security for a part of two thousand Louis-d'ors, permitted him to escape without broken limbs. The next day the national collector and departmental treasurer paid down two thousand Louis, and the jewels were restored. In this manner the communal government of the French Republic employs the plunder of foreign nations, and the money extorted from the enslaved and beggared French citizens*.

* See Les Nouvelles à la Main, Brumaire, an xii. No. iv. page 9.

PARIS

FANNY DE BEAUHARNOIS.

FANNY DE BEAUHARNOIS is the very reverse of her parents and her brother: amiable, unassuming, loyal, and liberal. She was the victim of her mother's vanity and her father's ambition, when she married the stupid libertine, and ill-bred Louis Buonaparte. She had numerous suitors; but her heart was betrothed to a chief of the royalists, who, if alive, endures wretchedness in the wilds of Cayenne, as a consular chastisement for this preference. Even Napoleone himself, *if he ever loved a woman*, loved Fanny de Beauharnois, or at least proved more than once that he was sensible of her beauty, ingenuousness, and innocence; but scandal, as busy in France as every where else, dared not only to investigate, but to attack her prudence. She is a royalist from principle, and has often told her father-in-law *how happy he would make her by recalling Louis XVIII. and re-establishing him as king of France and Navarre;* and the ferocious usurper has smiled at a sally

from

from her, which would have been instant death to any one else. Napoleone pet calls her ma *petite chouanne*; and he does not conceal that he intends in his will to declare her son by his brother the consular successor of an hereditary throne.

Instead of squandering away upon dress, feasts, or gaming, the immense sums with which the First Consul presents her, she almost annually to several distressed families ruined by the revolution, and maintains and pays for the education of numbers of deserted children, who, like herself, have been made orphans by the republican guillotine.

Madame Fanny de Beauharnois, or, as she is commonly called, Madame Louis Bonaparte, is as modest in her dress and her language, as beautiful in her person and accomplished in her manners; and in a vicious corrupted country, and at a still more vicious and corrupted court, she has the courage to remain unpolluted and pure, and not to be ashamed either of her virtue or her loyalty.

According to the Livre Rouge, by Bourrienne, Madame Napoleone has, besides payment of all the expences of her wardrobe, &c. one million of livres yearly in pin-money; and her jewels,

&c.

&c. are valued at only three millions, though it is well known they are of more than double that value.

Eugenius de Beauharnois has an annuity of six hundred thousand livres. At the marriage of his sister he received a present of three hundred thousand livres, six hundred thousand livres for his future establishment, and his debts were paid with one million two hundred thousand livres.

Fanny de Beauharnois received at her marriage six hundred thousand livres; at the birth of her child the same sum; and the same sum is allowed her as an annuity, besides presents from the First Consul, estimated, *at least*, at one million of livres per annum*.

* Many of the particulars mentioned in these Sketches of Madame Napoleone, and of her son and daughter, are found in Le Dictionnaire Biographique, in a pamphlet called La Sainte Famille, in a periodical paper called Les Nouvelles à la Main, and in the pamphlet called Le Livre Rouge, by Bourrienne, formerly Private Secretary to the First Consul.

LUCIEN BUONAPARTE.

[illegible]

LET those who complain of the expences of royalty, who make economy an argument for innovation, and rank a reform for economy, who pretend that liberty is only found in republics, and morality and virtue here only in a commonwealth; let such read the following short sketch of the life of a fashionable citizen of a modern republic; and then say what France has gained by a rebellion against its legal sovereign, and by changing an ancient monarchy into a military tyranny, under the appellation of a republic.

Lucien Buonaparte, the next younger brother to Napoleone, the First Consul of France, was, in 1790, bound apprentice to a petty retail grocer at Bastia: for some pilferings, he was turned away, and joined the Marseillois Brigands, who, on the 10th of August, 1792, took and

plundered the Castle of the Thuilleries, and murdered the Swiss guards, after treason had forced the unfortunate Louis XVI. and his family to leave their habitations, and seek refuge in an assembly of rebels and regicides*.

As a reward for those *civic* transactions, Lucien was admitted a member in the clubs of the jacobins and of the cordeliers; and on the 2d, 3d, and 4th of September following, assisted Marat's and Danton's patriots *to purge the land of liberty of those aristocrats who were confined in the different prisons in Paris.* However young as to years, he was already so old in crime, that on the 21st of January, 1793, he was one of Santerre's *chosen* men, to guard the scaffold on which his King was butchered. He was no less a favourite with Santerre's successor, Henriot, who had distinguished him at the plunders of the *aristocratical* grocers' shops in March 1793, and therefore enrolled him among those of Robespierre's *sans-culottes*, who forced the National Convention, on the 1st of June in the same year, to

* See La Sainte Famille, page 52, and Recueil d'Anecdotes, page 545.

to decree the arrest of their rival rebels of the Brissot faction*.

When the virtuous, the loyal, and religious, were confined in the dungeons of regicides and atheists, it was a profitable post for the vicious to guard them, and see them to the scaffold. Henriot, therefore, made Lucien Buonaparte one of the *gens-d'armes*, who, during the reign of Robespierre, watched his imprisoned victims destined to destruction, and who escorted them, after a mock trial, to the guillotine. At this time Lucien had married a strumpet of the corps called the *Furies of the Guillotine*; women who were paid forty sous a-day to frequent the galleries of the Convention, of the clubs, and of the Revolutionary Tribunal, to applaud, hiss, or hoot, as ordered by Robespierre and his band of assassins; and finally, to follow, abuse, and insult the persons sent every day, *en masse*, from the *Conciergerie* prison to be butchered on the Place de la Revolution. What has become of this *Madame Lucien*, is the family secret of the Buonapartes. Some say that she died in *La Salpetriere* (a bridewell); others, that she is there still in confinement;

* See the last-mentioned work, and Les Annales du Terrorisme, page 161.

finement; and others, that she owed a premature death to the irregularities of her debauched husband *.

After the execution of Robespierre, Lucien, dreading a well-deserved punishment as one of his subaltern accomplices, fled from Paris to Nice, where his *worthy* brother Napoleone was under arrest as a terrorist. Here the Toulon assassin and the Paris Septembrizer fraternized together, until the general amnesty of the National Convention for all revolutionary crimes permitted the two hopeful brothers to return to Paris, the grand revolutionary theatre for ambition, intrigue, and guilt, to plot, to plunder, and to murder.

Ever since the Revolution, amnesties have encouraged crimes by affording impunity, and new crimes have repeatedly made new amnesties necessary; there is not one of the Corsican senators, counsellors, tribunes, and other rebel functionaries, who are not indebted for their lives to one amnesty or other; who have not been in prison as criminals, denounced as plunderers, proscribed

* These and other particulars are found in a pamphlet, printed at Paris by Desenne, year vii. having for title *Lucien Buonaparte toujours le meme*. See besides, La Sainte Famille, page 53.

proscribed as assassins, or outlawed as conspirators, by their victorious and factious accomplices.

When Napoleone and Lucien, in the spring of 1795, went to Paris, such was their poverty, that they were obliged to make nearly the whole journey from Nice to Paris, 700 miles, on foot; and when at Paris, they occupied together a miserable garret in *Rue de Mouffetarde*, for fifty sous (twenty-five pence) per week. In revolutionary times, and in revolutionary countries, the distance is often the same from a garret to a throne as from a throne to a scaffold*.

By Napoleone's revolutionary connexions with Barras, Tallien, and Freron, Lucien got a place, with an annual salary of 600 livres (25 pounds), as clerk to a store-keeper at St. Maximin, in the South of France; where he married, against the consent of her parents, the daughter of an innkeeper, with a fortune of *one hundred Louis-d'ors*†.

For marrying the mistress of Barras, Napoleone had been promoted by him to the rank of General;

* See La Sainte Famille, page 54.

† See the last-mentioned pamphlet and page.

General; and for the murder of the Parisians on the 6th of October, 1795, he got the command of the Army of the Interior. Lucien was now appointed a war-commissary at Antwerp; from which place he wrote a letter to another commissary at Cleve (published as *a curiosity* in the Gazette de Bas Rhine, May 1796), containing a most ridiculous account of Napoleone's first victory in Piedmont. In this stupid performance the jargon is revolutionary, the principles jacobinical, and the sense, spelling, and orthography, that of a *sans-culottes*, without education and without genius. How such a man could, in four years afterwards, be chosen a member of the National Institute, would be inexplicable, had not Frenchmen of letters, during the whole French Revolution, been the first to degrade learning by their base conduct, and to dishonour literary societies by electing for associates rebels, traitors, regicides, and other ignorant and guilty upstarts.

When the victories of Napoleone had made him powerful, and the pillage of Italy enriched him, he by degrees dragged forward the different members of his obscure, unknown, and despicable family. In the winter of 1796, Lucien for the first time appeared in Paris in other com-

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pany than that of *sans-culottes*; but, with a true Corsican impudence, he soon caused himself to be remarked for his extravagancies, to be noticed as an unprincipled gamester, and despised as a debauchee. Such was, however, his known ignorance, that, notwithstanding all his presumption, and all the services of Napoleone, the Directory, in 1797, was under the necessity of refusing him the place of secretary to the French embassy at the Congress at Rastadt*.

The revolution of the 4th of September, 1797, made the jacobin faction again powerful; and by its influence Lucien was, in 1798, elected a member of the Council of Five Hundred. During the absence of Napoleone in Egypt, Lucien associated only with jacobins, professed only their principles, and acted in every thing, and on all occasions, as one of their accomplices. He published an account of his revolutionary life, beginning with these words: *Et moi, aussi je suis jacobin, et moi aussi j'ai fais mes preuves comme jacobin, comme citoyen sans-culottes*†. His absurd

* Recueil d'Anecdotes, page 546.

† This pamphlet, "La Vie Revolutionaire du Cit. Lucien Buonaparte, publié par Luimeme, chez le Normant, an vii." was, after the usurpation of his brother, bought up by the police agents, or seized by them, if refused to be sold.

absurd speeches, as a deputy, were as violent as his associates were vile; and when a new jacobin club was instituted, in the summer of 1799, he was chosen one of its first presidents.

The flight of Napoleone from Egypt, and his return to France, neither changed Lucien's language nor his behaviour; he was therefore nominated president of the Council of Five Hundred; and at the Revolution of the 18th of Brumaire, or 9th of November, 1799, by deserting the jacobins, he added treachery to his other crimes. It is well known, *that the presence of mind of Lucien that day was greater than the courage of Napoleone*; and that if Lucien had not called out to the grenadiers attending Napoleone, *not to desert their General*, the dagger of Arena, or a decree of outlawry, would have put a stop to the greatness and crimes of the Buonaparte family.

When Napoleone had usurped the reins of government, he appointed Lucien minister for the home department, and recalled Fontanes, who in 1797 had been condemned to transportation, to be his secretary; and it was this Fontanes who wrote all his eloquent speeches and proclamations during his ministry.

Lucien was now in his element; possessing

the

the means of gratifying all his degrading and cruel passions. Not a woman whom chance exposed to his view, or caprice to his fancy, and whom money, power, violence, or intrigue, could procure, but was seduced, dishonoured, and ruined by him: neither the innocence of youth, the misfortunes of beauty, the sanctity of marriage, nor the sacredness of consanguinity, were respected by him. In six months, he was guilty of more crimes than all the Princes of the house of Bourbon have been accused of in six centuries. At a ball in April 1800, at the hotel de Richelieu, where upwards of two hundred women of fashion were present (amongst others, *two of his own sisters**), he often and loudly repeated, *Here is not a woman with whom I have not intrigued!*

After the battle of Marengo, ambition, for some time, got the better of debauchery: Lucien imagined, because his brother could dictate to emperors, and create kings, that he might easily marry into some imperial or royal family; and,

* General Murat always suspected the incestuous profligacy of his brother-in-law; and this is one of Buonaparte's reasons for keeping Murat in Italy. Murat has fought and wounded Lucien in two duels. See Les Nouvelles à la Main, Messidor, an viii. *No. v, page 2.*

and, as his wife was an obstacle, he gave her some ice-cream, which she ate, and *died!*—that she was poisoned, not only her relations, but all Paris, proclaimed*.

Two days after his wife's death, five of Lucien's armed spies carried away to his country-house, against her consent, the beautiful wife of a rich banker; she was confined there several days to console him, not for the loss of his wife, but for the refusal of his brother to marry him to some German Princess†.

Lucien had long intrigued to get Fouché disgraced, and to unite the ministry of the police with the home department; but here he met with an equal, if not a superior, as well in plots as in guilt. Fouché informed Napoleone not only of Lucien's scandalous conduct, and of the public clamour against him; of his extravagant expences and of his numerous debts; but also told him, that Lucien had spoken of him (Napoleone) with contempt, and dared his power, for which, he said, Napoleone was indebted to him: the reports of Fouché's spies proved his assertion, and

* See Les Nouvelles à la Main, Vendemaire, an ix. No. ii. page 9.

† See the last-mentioned publication, page 11.

and Lucien was forbidden the presence of his consular brother, and ordered to resign his ministry; not for his vices and crimes, for they had been long known, but because he had been indiscreet; and, besides, by circulating a pamphlet, written under his orders by Fontanes, had discovered some family secrets; and among the rest, the *arriere pense* of Napoleone, one day to assume the imperial crown of the Gauls. By the mediation of his mother, and the advice of Talleyrand, his disgrace was changed into a lucrative embassy to Spain, to sell Tuscany, and to plunder Portugal*.

Lucien left Paris with a debt of three millions of livres; which Napoleone promised to pay, but which is yet unpaid. Some of his creditors have died after being ruined; the Temple and Cayenne have silenced the complaints of the others†.

In Spain, and chiefly at Madrid, Lucien continued his debauched and vicious life: his prodigality there surprised every one; his irregularity gave offence, and his impudence disgust. He treated the king and royal family as his equals,

* La Sainte Famille, page 58.

† See page 59 of the last-mentioned pamphlet.

equals, and the ministers and grandees as his servants; but such is the degraded situation of the Continent, the dejected or abject state of many of its sovereigns, and the weakness, ignorance, or treachery of their ministers and counsellors, that this revolutionary *sans-culotte* was not only suffered, but bribed, entertained, and complimented.

By his negotiations at Madrid and with Portugal, Lucien added twenty millions of livres to the fortune of his brother, and ten to his own; he degraded royalty by creating a kingdom in Tuscany, and insulted loyalty by swindling a province of Portugal.

After the peace with England, when Lucien returned to Paris, he was made a Senator, and one of the grand officers of the Legion of Honour; and he now shows away in a style to which the most extravagant manner of living of any modern prince, brother or son to any emperor or king, cannot be compared: his jewels and diamonds are valued at upwards of three millions of livres; his cabinet of pictures cost him more than that sum; and his seraglio and debaucheries more than both those sums together.

ther*. The millions that he carried with him from Spain and Portugal are expended; and notwithstanding that his brother allows him an annuity of 1,200,000 livres; besides what he receives from his lucrative places, he is said to be four millions in debt†.

Lucien is as insolent and despotic in his present elevation, as he was formerly vile and cruel: illiberal, ungenerous and unfeeling, he uses his mistresses as if they were his slaves—and *his friends as his mistresses*; he is a tyrant to his domestics, and a terror to all who approach him.

The glitter of affluence may dazzle the unthinking,

* To vice Lucien refuses nothing: he bought of Madame de C—, an emigrant lady, her only daughter, a girl of fourteen, for 300,000 livres, or 12,000 *l.* sterling. The girl died in three weeks the victim of his brutal cruelties: her mother's infamy was the consequence of misery and distress, caused by the revolution which seated Napoleone Buonaparte on the throne of the Bourbons.

† In a late publication translated from the German, called "Buonaparte and the French People under his Consulate," it is said, page 71, that Lucien returned from Spain in 1801 with a capital of thirteen millions of livres. In Les Nouvelles à la Main Ventose, an xii. No xvii. page 16, it is said that he possessed a fortune of forty millions of livres. He has been lately exiled to Rome by Napoleone, and is not yet a revolutionary imperial highness, having quarrelled with his elder brother.

thinking, and the renown of prosperity puzzle the weak; but Lucien's greatness can neither cover the infamy of the guilty, nor the guilt of the infamous; and his rank is unable to conceal the ignoble and base sentiments of a base and ignoble mind.

LOUIS BUONAPARTE.

Et l'on voit des commis
mis
Comme des princes
Qui d'hier sont venus
nus
De leurs provinces.

WHEN, in 1795, through a medley of successful crimes, and of foul forgotten deeds, Fortune was wantonly pleased to raise Napoleone Buonaparte from the dregs of obscurity; his brother Louis was a petty clerk, with a salary of twenty pounds a year, at the petty police commissary Pierre Pierre's office at Marseilles; a notorious terrorist, married to the daughter of an innkeeper, and brother-in-law to Lucien Buonaparte; who, when a minister of the home department, promoted him to the *lucrative office* of general-commissary of police at Bourdeaux*. In the autumn of 1796, Louis left Marseilles for

* See La Sainte Famille, page 165.

for Italy, and began his military career at the age of eighteen, as a chief of battalion, or lieutenant-colonel, and aid-de-camp to his brother Napoleone. In this capacity he followed him to Egypt in 1798; but suffering in Africa the consequences of his debaucheries in Europe, his stay there was but short; and he returned to France in October of the same year, with dispatches from General Buonaparte for the Directory.

Of all the Buonapartes (not excepting either Joseph the negotiator, or Napoleone the warrior) Louis is the only one who can correctly write and spell the French language. A letter of his to his brother Joseph, dated Alexandria, July 6th, 1798, was intercepted by our cruizers, and contains some accounts of the operations of the French Army of the East, and some remarks on the inhabitants of Egypt. In speaking of the Bedouin Arabs, he says—"They are an *invincible* people, inhabiting a burning desert, mounted on the fleetest horses in the world, and full of courage. *We have treated them kindly.* They live with their wives and children in flying camps, *which are never pitched two nights together at the same place.* They are *horrible savages, and yet they have some notion of gold and silver!* a

small

small quantity of it serves to excite their admiration. Yes, my dear brother, they *love* gold (not more than the French); *they pass their lives* in extorting it from such Europeans as fall into their hands: and for what purpose? for continuing the course of life which I have described, and for teaching it to their children. O, Jean Jacques! (Rousseau), why was it not thy fate to see these men, whom thou callest "the men of nature? thou wouldst sink with shame, thou wouldst startle with horror, at the thought of having once admired them!" Speaking of the city of Alexandria, he continues, "The remarkable objects *here*, are Pompey's column, the obelisks of Cleopatra, the spot where her baths once stood, a number of ruins, a subterraneous temple, some catacombs, mosques, and a few churches. But that which is still more remarkable, is the character and manners of the inhabitants. They are of a *sang-froid absolutely* astonishing. Nothing agitates them; and *death is to them what a voyage to America is to the English.* Their interior is *imposing.* The most marked physiognomies amongst us are mere children's countenances, compared to theirs." He finishes his letter with an observation that shews both the difficulty and honour of the conquest of

Egypt

Egypt by General Buonaparte, and of his boasted victories: "Their *forts* (says Louis) and their *artillery are the most ridiculous things in nature*; they have not even a lock nor a window to their houses; in a word, *they are still involved in the blindness of the earliest ages.*"

Lucien Buonaparte often repeats, that his brother Louis *est le seul bête de la famille* (the only fool of the family): but when at the age of twenty he was able to make such observations as those contained in this letter, his sense was certainly as good, and his instruction and judgment better, than that of Lucien himself, who, not long ago, *when minister of the home department*, wrote to Citizen Lalande, "*to stop the eclipse of the moon until his arrival**." It is true, that since 1798 an immoderate use of mercury has rather impaired Louis's intellects, and prevented his advancement to the rank of a general, and perhaps to that of a constable of France†; but though a libertine, in common with his brothers and sisters, he has neither the crimes of Napoleone and Lucien, nor the treachery of Joseph,

to

* See Les Nouvelles à la Main, Germinal, an ix. No. iii. p. 9.

† The above was written in 1803. In May 1804, Louis was made a constable of France, and is a greater favourite than ever with his brother Napoleone; thanks to the charms of his wife.

to reproach himself with, and is therefore less disliked in France than either of them.

In December 1799, after Napoleone had proclaimed himself the First Consul of France, Louis was nominated colonel of a regiment of dragoons; and in October 1800 was entrusted with a political mission to the courts of Berlin and St. Petersburg. His reception at the former was brilliant, and he was honoured by the condescension of the King and Queen to fraternize with him, as if he had been the brother of a lawful King of France; so much so, that it was not only a real scandal to a number of loyal foreigners who passed that winter at Berlin, but even to those Prussian generals, princes, and courtiers, who had witnessed the etiquette at the courts of former kings and queens. The impertinent and unbecoming familiarity of the ill-bred Louis Buonaparte, was only surpassed by the impolitic, but patient endurance of the royal family; from which this *sans-culotte* brother of a guilty *sans-culotte* usurper, took the opportunity to insult, if not to degrade monarchy, by his ridiculous, vulgar, and audacious conversation at the table of a monarch; and by his too familiar, if not indecent behaviour before the public when in the King's box at the opera; where he pub-

licly

licly and boldly dared to converse with the young and beautiful Queen, as if he had been with the old painted wife of the First Consul. Infected by a *known* infamous disease, which kept him for weeks in his lodgings at the Hotel de Paris, he fortunately did not often repeat those scenes, which excited so much the astonishment, animadversion, and complaint of birth, rank, and loyalty. Many persons are yet of opinion, that nothing can ever indemnify legal and hereditary sovereignty for the sufferance of so many humiliations.

Before he left Berlin for the Russian frontiers, Louis was *informed* by the Russian ambassador, Baron Krudner, that he had not yet obtained any orders from his Sovereign *to invite* the consular brother to St. Petersburg. The Emperor Paul, though seduced by French intriguers, dazzled by the victories of the First Consul, offended with Austria, and embroiled with England, did not forget what he owed to himself, to his rank, to his family, to his country, or to his subjects. Louis Buonaparte's purposed journey to Russia therefore ended at Koenigsberg in Prussia, only on the Russian frontiers; from which place he expedited remittances and smuggled instructions to the emissaries of Napoleone at St. Petersburg.

Petersburg; and, to the great satisfaction of all loyal men, he returned to Berlin without being able to dishonour another sovereign.

After a few more weeks residence in the capital of Prussia, he was recalled to France by Napoleone, and sent to Montpellier, as Lucien said, 'on a *mercurial* (and not on a political or military) mission, preparatory to receiving the hand of the lovely Fanny de Beauharnois. His marriage with this lady is a convincing proof that he is a greater favourite with the First Consul than Lucien, who was one of the pretenders to this accomplished beauty. The declared promise of Napoleone to bequeath to the son of Louis his Consulate, and the sovereignty over the French Republic, has displeased all the other members of the Buonaparte family; and his numerous and valuable presents, both to Madame Louis and her husband, have excited the envy of all the Corsican relatives, who are plotting to diminish the increasing consideration of this younger brother, or rather the repeated donations to his wife.

Surrounded by every thing that can make existence desirable, Louis is an invalid at the age of twenty-three; and with ruined health, and a broken constitution, he cannot enjoy the blessings which Providence has so liberally poured

down

down upon him; he suffers, therefore, in the midst of his prosperity, pains and pangs unknown even to wretchedness itself when accompanied with innocence and virtue.

According to the Livre Rouge, by Bourrienne, Louis Buonaparte received as an establishment two millions of livres; he has a yearly pension of one million two hundred thousand livres. One million of debts were paid for him in 1800 and 1801, at Berlin and in Germany; at his marriage Napoleone presented him with six hundred thousand livres, and the same sum at the birth of his son *.

* See Livre Rouge, by Bourrienne; La Sainte Famille, and Les Nouvelles à la Main. As to the particulars of his residence at Berlin, the author was there, and lodged in the same hotel with him, in December 1800.

Louis has lately been, by the rebels and regicides of the French Senate, saluted an imperial highness, and by his ferocious brother Napoleone made a Constable of the French empire. What a constable! what an empire! and what an emperor!

JEROME BUONAPARTE.

——— Il tire de la poussière
Une race d'affreux brigands,
D'esclaves sans honneur, et de cruels tyrans,
Plus mechante que les Robespierre.

IT is a disgrace to France in particular, and to Europe in general, to be condemned to know, that such low, insignificant personages as the different *petty* members of the *petty* Buonaparte family, are really in existence; but such, unfortunately, is the present degraded situation of the civilized world, that every thing concerning the race of the Corsican usurper is inquired after with an impolitic curiosity, and read with an avidity almost culpable. The disgusting task, therefore, of exposing the *native* infamy of the Buonapartes, from the eldest of them down to the youngest, must be undertaken by loyalty, to prevent disaffection from profiting by a fashionable inquisitiveness, and augmenting the number of its former misrepresentations, concerning the many guilty upstarts whom the French rebellion has brought into an atrocious notoriety.

Je rome

Jerome Buonaparte, the younger brother of the First Consul, was born in 1785. When, in 1795, Napoleone's crimes were rewarded with rank and riches, Jerome was an errand-boy in a small inn frequented by waggoners, at Marseilles; and such was the poverty of his mother and family, that she was unable to pay for his instruction, and at the age of ten he could neither write nor read. In 1796, when success crowned the undertakings of the numerous army commanded by General Buonaparte in Italy, he ordered Jerome to be sent, at his expence, to a public school at Basle, in Switzerland, under the care of his sister and brother-in-law, Bacchioci, then settled in that city in a petty chocolate manufacture*.

When seated upon the throne of the Bourbons, Napoleone, having made one of his brothers a negotiator, another a minister, and a third a colonel, determined that Jerome should be advanced in the navy, the only department wherein none of his relatives could yet pretend to shine, or to govern. Jerome was therefore put under the particular care of Admiral Gantheaume, who considered himself *greatly honoured*

* See La Sainte Famille, page 171.

soured by being *promoted* to the tutorship of such a *hopeful* and *distinguished* youth. Jerome accompanied this admiral during his voyage from Brest to Toulon in the spring of 1801, and in his attempt during the summer of the same year to land some troops on the African shore, as succours to General Menou in Egypt. Not being able to glorify himself with any success in this undertaking, Gantheaume tried, by showering flattery on one brother, to extenuate his own fault or misfortune, and to lessen the consular anger of another brother. In his dispatches, the *illustrious* pupil, Jerome Buonaparte, was mentioned " as a young sea officer who *promised* to be an *ornament* to his profession, and whose *great talents* and *undaunted courage* would reflect *great honour* on the French navy."

To the shame of this *republican* courtier, it is to be mentioned, as a fact known in 1801, at Toulon, as well as at Marseilles, that, during Gantheaume's cruize this year in the Mediterranean, the boy Jerome Buonaparte underwent an operation rendered necessary by an infamous disease, and which probably will prevent his progeny from being first consuls or admirals in France. At the early age of 16, Jerome was plunged into vice, and exhibited ignominious

proofs of early depravity; and this *Corsican ornament to his profession* shewed his *undaunted courage*, by *bravely* keeping his bed during the whole voyage.

When, after the preliminaries with England had been signed, Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse was sent with a fleet and an army to St. Domingo, Jerome, then promoted to the rank of a lieutenant, accompanied him as one of his aid-de-camps. When safely arrived at his destination, this republican admiral, to outdo even Gantheaume in meanness, sent his first dispatches from St. Domingo to France, by this boy Jerome Buonaparte, "to whose *uncommon skill, both as a naval and military officer*, he confidently referred for whatever the government (Napoleone) should think proper to know concerning the expedition to St. Domingo." By such absurd bombast, and by such dishonourable debasement, did this admiral please the First Consul so much, that he obtained the appointment of captain-general of Martinique.

After a short stay in France, Jerome, now made a captain, obtained the command of a corvette, and was sent again with confidential dispatches to his brother-in-law, General Le Clerc, at Cape François. He had now an opportunity

to

to demonstrate his *natural* fraternity to a Napoleone and a Lucien Buonaparte. On his arrival at the Cape, daily torments and executions of the unfortunate negroes were the orders of the day; and he found so much delight in the improvements invented by the hellish genius of a republican officer, Grenier, to prolong their sufferings, that he presented him with a ring worth twelve thousand livres; while he sent to prison another officer, who forgot to call him up one morning when 262 of the negroes were half burnt before they were sawed to pieces. On his arrival, his *virtuous* sister, Madame Le Clerc, had presented him with a beautiful mulatto woman for a mistress, to keep him *sage*, as she said: this girl was descended from respectable parents, and had received a better education than was common in St. Domingo since the Revolution. One afternoon, in a fit of jealousy, Jerome ordered her to be devoured alive by some famished blood-hounds, which he always kept for his entertainment, and was present to see his atrocious orders executed!!! This abomination surprised even Madame Le Clerc, who, *as a punishment, did not admit her brother to her table the day following.* A brother of this unfortunate girl, a *lieutenant* in the republican service, being re-

fused the satisfaction that he demanded for this crime, in despair deserted to the Blacks; but was recaptured, and condemned by General Le Clerc to be shot from the mouth a *cannon*.—Every thing that the fancy or passion of Jerome fixed upon, he put into requisition for his use. The day after the murder of one mistress, he *sent orders* to the daughter of a white planter *to fill up the vacant place;* she, however, preferred poison to the embraces of such a young monster; but by disappointing his vile passion, she caused the death of her father, and the ruin of her family; the former being shot upon the denunciation of Jerome, who accused him of corresponding with the negroes; and his property was confiscated for the use of the Republic, or rather of the Buonaparte family. Another day, when he observed an American merchant in an elegant English phaeton, drawn by four English horses, he ordered him to descend; and when he refused, four of General Le Clerc's guides dragged the American from his carriage, which Jerome afterwards appropriated to his own use. After the war with England, when Jerome bravely deserted over to the American continent, this merchant cited him before the American

rican tribunals, to be paid for his plundered property*.

Jerome Buonaparte now resides at Baltimore, with an American named Joshua Barney, who, by piracy and plunder under the famous Santhonax, has accumulated several millions of livres. This is the same Barney who commanded, during the last war, an American ship called the Sampson, with which he privateered without any commission, and for which he was tried and condemned at Jamaica as a pirate, but escaped the gallows by flight. He was afterwards made a commodore in the French service; and kept at Paris, as a mistress, a cousin of Madame Buonaparte, by whom he had two children, but whom he afterwards left in distress, which caused him to be dismissed from the French navy. It is therefore hardly possible that Jerome can be in more suitable company than that of Citizen Barney.

The official Moniteur lately published the *official*

* Some of the particulars of Jerome's conduct at St. Domingo, the Author has from a respectable American gentleman, who was was *an eye witness* to what is related, and which he said had already been published in the American Papers. For Jerome's earlier *education*, see La Sainte Famille; and for his sea expedition, see Les Nouvelles à la Main, and the Moniteur.

official republican truth, that Citizen Jerome, in his retreat to America, sunk an English ship of superior force. Many think it *very modest* of the editor not to let this *noble* youth sink a whole English squadron in the Moniteur; which might have procured the First Consul an occasion of appointing his worthy brother, at once, a lord high admiral of the French Republic.

According to the Livre Rouge, Jerome has a yearly pension, until married, of six hundred thousand livres; for an hotel and two estates in the country, at his future establishment, one million and a half are allotted; and one million is deposited in foreign banks for his use. Of what value the presents are which he receives from his consular brother, may be concluded from the known anecdote, of his having shewn an English officer at Jamaica a watch set with jewels, which he, with *true Corsican impudence*, said, cost the bagatelle of ten thousand Louis-d'ors *only**.

MAD.

* Having married into a respectable American family, Jerome has the honour of being disgraced with his brother Napoleone, and is, therefore, not yet a revolutionary highness. A Senatus Consultus may, however, easily make him one, should he, by dispatching his republican wife, prove himself still worthy to fraternise with a Napoleone Buonaparte. Letters from America state, that Napoleone is suspected of an intent of proclaiming Jerome a grand Inca of the American Continent.

MAD. BACCHIOCHI, OR BACIOCHI.

THIS eldest sister of the First Consul married in 1788 a countryman of her's, Bacchiochi, who, with a capital of twelve thousand livres (500*l.* sterling), had established himself as a manufacturer of chocolate at Basle in Switzerland. The match was at that period regarded in her country as a brilliant one for the petty and poor Buonaparte family. Before her marriage, she had done all the drudgery of a dairy-maid on the small farm rented by her parents near Ajactio, in Corsica *.

Mr. Bacchiochi is a good honest man, more fit to head the mechanics of a manufactory, than to shine in the revolutionary manufactory governed by Napoleone Buonaparte; and as he has hitherto committed no crime to acquire celebrity, he is despised by all the Buonapartes, even his own wife not excepted; and it surprises

* See La Sainte Famille, page 195.

prises all France, that a dose of the same prepa ration which made Lucien in 1800 a widower, has not before now made Madame Bacchiochi a widow and a princess*.

Madame Bacchiochi's character bears great resemblance to that of her mother; she is both superstitious and devout; both licentious and religious; she intrigues and confesses, wears the hair of her lovers, and the relics of saints; she kneels before the holy picture of St. Francis, and ogles the profane portrait of her lover on her bosom; all her appointments are in churches, where, in adoring her Creator, she gazes and smiles at her admirer. Her love-letters are the common talk of Paris, because she preaches to the sinner, when she intends to flatter the lover.

Before the fortune and grandeur of Napoleone turned her head, she was the best of daughters, sisters, wives, and mothers; and she still fulfils these several duties better than any of her sisters; and in Corsica she is respected as the most virtuous of them all, because, like her mother, she had *only one child* before her marriage.

According to the Livre Rouge, by Bourrienne, she has received from the First Consul, as an establish-

* Madame Bacchiochi has lately been created a Princess of Piombino.

establishment, one million of livres, jewels, &c. to the amount of six hundred thousand livres, two hundred thousand livres in annuities for several of her husband's relations; and she enjoys besides a yearly pension of six hundred thousand livres *.

* See La Sainte Famille, and Les Nouvelles à la Main, with the Livre Rouge, by Bourrienne.

THE PRINCESS SANTA CRUCE.

WHEN, in 1796, success crowned Buonaparte's army in Italy, the Princess Santa Cruce was an assistant to Madame Rambaud, a mantua-maker at Marseilles (with whom she had for six years been an apprentice), and at the same time in the keeping of a soap-manufacturer, a married man, in that city, of the name of Julien, by whom she had two children. In 1797, she and the present Madame Murat accompanied their brother Joseph to Rome, where he was appointed by the Directory ambassador of the French Republic. The irresistible arms of Napoleone convinced the *patriotic* Roman prince, Santa Cruce, of the all-subduing and irresistible attractions of his sister; and she was made a princess within twelve months after she had been a mantua-maker, and commanded in an elegant

hotel

hotel in a short time after she had left off serving in a shop*.

Married into this revolutionary family, the Prince Santa Cruce tried to become a revolutionary hero: and when the plots and intrigues of Joseph Buonaparte had effected a revolution at Rome in 1798, he was made a Roman general, and commander of the Roman National Guard; but in fighting against the Neapolitan troops under General Mack, in 1799, he had his leg shot off. This weak and rebellious prince is as ignorant as he is disloyal; and notwithstanding his name and his riches, his *crowned* head and his wooden leg, his rank and patriotism, he is the continual object of the jokes of the consular courtiers, of the epigrams of the republican wits, and is as much despised as he is really despicable.

Madame Santa Cruce, when she is in health, laughs at her mother's devotion; but on the least symptom of illness she sends sooner for her mother's confessor than for her husband's physician: when well, her conversation is blasphemous; when ill, edifying: prosperity makes her an atheist; wretchedness would probably make

* See La Sainte Famille, page 197.

make her a Christian, if not a saint. Her mother often repeats, that the Princese Santa Cruce will never be saved if she does not die in an hospital*.

Bourrienne, in the Livre Rouge, says, that Madame Santa Cruce has obtained, as an establishment, from her brother Napoleone, one million of livres, presents in jewels, &c. worth six hundred thousand livres, one hundred thousand livres as annuities to two of her husband's relations; and that she has besides a yearly pension of six hundred thousand livres.

* See the last-mentioned Publication and page.

MADAME MURAT.

WHEN, in December 1797, *the honest man of the Corsican family*, Joseph Buonaparte, had integrity and loyalty enough to cause General Duphot to be murdered, in order to furnish a pretext for the pillage of Rome, and for the subversion of the Papal government, his sister, the present Madame Murat, was betrothed to this general, then one of the most frantic jacobins, and the confidential friend of Napoleone.

Madame Murat had been an apprentice to the mantua-maker Madame Rambaud at Marseilles, as well as her sister the Princes Santa Cruce; but, in 1794, she left that city with an actor from Paris, Baptist, who, not being able to provide for her wants, recommended her to a mantua-maker in the Rue de Montmartre. She had by this actor two children, of whom one is

yet alive, and educated by the father, formerly an intimate friend of Napoleone*.

In 1800 the First Consul presented the hand of this his *modest* sister to the *virtuous* General Murat, who had accompanied him to Egypt, deserted with him from Egypt, assisted him to dethrone his benefactors the directors, and commanded his guard when a consul.

During Buonaparte's campaign in Egypt, the Scandalous Chronicle of Paris said, that the present Madame Murat cohabited with her brother Lucien, and had a child by him; and as the depraved Lucien had himself publicly boasted of this infamy, he has been three times challenged by General Murat, and twice wounded by him, without disavowing or apologizing for his crime.

Madame Murat is vanity and affectation itself. All rebels of all countries are her heroes; and a republic her wishes during the day, and her dreams in the night. Liberty is in her mouth, equality in her heart, and fraternity on her garters. A cap of liberty decorates her hotel, and a tree of liberty her court-yard. In her drawing-room are the busts of Gracchus, Brutus, Cato, Brissot, Marat, and Robespierre.

In

* See La Sainte Famille, page 196.

In her bed-room those of Machiavel, Cromwell, and Napoleone. While talking of liberty and equality, however, she is a despot in her house; she is arrogant with her friends, overbearing with her companions, and a tyrant over her lovers. In her dress, manners, and pretensions, she is an aristocrat, and often a successful rival to her sister-in-law Madame Napoleone.

To prevent the probably fatal consequences of the jealousy of General Murat against his brother-in-law Lucien, Napoleone sent Madame Murat to reside with her husband at Milan; where, notwithstanding the great honours shewn her by the Italians, she regretted Paris, and considered herself, as she wrote to the First Consul, "*as transported to the European Cayenne,*" and therefore tormented him with her letters until he recalled her, "*to her dear, dear Paris.*" As General Murat does not inspect his wife's conduct so much as formerly, many think that indifference has succeeded to jealousy, and that he properly appreciates the real value of her precious person and honourable sentiments. Her suitors are now very numerous; and in their number the most ridiculous of all is the old debauched senator Rœderer, who, according to Les Nouvelles à la Main, by turns, sighs and laughs

laughs, sings and cries, writes love letters, and prints tender or flattering verses*.

In his Journal de Paris of the 31st of October, 1803, Rœderer, *in despair*, wrote the following quatrain, addressed to her husband:

VERS ADRESSES AU GENERAL MURAT.

Adore Caroline †, et regne sur son cœur
L'Amour avec orgueil peut dire à la victoire,
Qu'il sut faire pour ton *bonheur*
Autant qu'elle fit pour ta gloire.

Besides a thousand Louis-d'ors pin-money allowed her *per month*, by her husband, or rather *by the Italian Republic*, she has, according to Bourrienne's Livre Rouge, received for an establishment, one million of livres; in presents, jewels, &c. six hundred thousand livres; annuities to five of her husband's relations, two hundred thousand livres; and she enjoys besides, a yearly pension of six hundred thousand livres‡.

* See Les Nouvelles à la Main, Brumaire, an xii. No. iv. page 4.

† Carolina is the name of Madame Murat.

‡ See La Sainte Famille, Les Nouvelles à la Main, and the Livre Rouge, by Bourrienne.

THE

THE PRINCESS BORGHESE,

CI-DEVANT MADAME LE CLERC.

Raisonner est l'emploi de toute leur maison,
Et le raisonnement en bannit la raison. MOLIERE.

"I DO not want a God more than a God wants me:" these blasphemous words are often in the pretty mouth of the present Princess Borghese, the youngest sister of the First Consul. Instead of acknowledging with gratitude the undeserved goodness of a Providence, which from a prostitute has made her a princess, and upon the pinnacle of fortune's temple, remembering with repentance and shame the misery of the night-cellar; alike vicious, impious, and scandalizing in affluence as in wretchedness, she bids defiance to the power of her Creator; she insults the hope of the religious, as well as the consolation of the moralist; and augments the afflictions of suffering innocence, by encouraging or extenuating the infamy of prosperous crime. Hypocrisy of every kind is bad; but the hypocrisy of Napoleone's atheism is monstrous,

because

because it adds cowardice to guilt. It is difficult, however, to say which is the most dangerous in a corrupt nation, an atheist upon an usurped throne preaching Christianity; or an amiable, fashionable, and popular woman, spreading about, almost by his side, the desolating and dangerous tenets of atheism, particularly as this woman is known to be his *favourite* sister.

At the age of fourteen, the Princess Borghese, then Pauline Buonaparte, ran away from her mother's house with a Sardinian corporal and deserter, Cervoni; and, until Napoleone's usurpation, in 1799, when she (according to the pamphlet La Saint Famille) was found, covered with rags and disease, in a house of ill fame in the Rue St. Honoré, her relations were entirely ignorant of what was become of her *. To reward the *patriotic* services of an accomplice at Toulon, as well as in Italy and at Jaffa, Napoleone permitted the notorious terrorist General Le Clerc, son of a miller, to marry this worthy *princess of his blood*. Le Clerc, besides the usual sums of money allotted to each consular sister, received as a portion, first the command over the army in Portugal, and the plunder of that kingdom, and afterwards the command of the expedition

* See La Sainte Famille, page 199.

expedition to St. Domingo, and a colony to pillage, enslave, and ruin.

In December 1801, Madame Le Clerc sailed with her husband for St. Domingo, and witnessed all the atrocities of that republican proconsul. Though she possessed an uncommon influence over this ferocious character, neither his treason against the unfortunate Toussaint, nor the shocking torments and punishments which he inflicted on those negroes whom his conduct had made desperate, were prevented by her; on the contrary, if the already-quoted pamphlet be to be believed, she often enjoyed, and even commanded as an amusement, the disgusting sight of mutilated blacks roasted alive, or devoured alive by her husband's faithful allies, the Spanish blood-hounds. Her only occupation besides, was to gather and heap up new treasures, from the daily, if not hourly extortions, requisitions, and confiscations of her husband; and after his death, she accompanied her ill-gotten riches to France. During her voyage, she condescended to accept the consolation of a colonel, for the loss of a general; and to permit the continuance of the services of one of Le Clerc's former aids-de-camp, which obliged her to put off for near six months her nuptials

with

with the *patriotic* Roman Prince Borghese; who, no doubt, obtained her *chaste* hand from the First Consul Buonaparte in France, as an *indemnity* for the property which the Borghese family had lost by the plunder of General Buonaparte in Italy.

Though the German Princes are more numerous, less rich, and as selfish as the Italian; yet their pride has got the better of their *egotism*, and they have not dishonoured their rank by courting or marrying the vicious sisters of a beggarly usurper. Prince Borghese, like his countryman the Prince Santa Cruce, had no reason to be so nice, because he had proclaimed his patriotic treachery before the banns of his sans-culotte marriage were published. He was, in 1798 and 1799, an active citizen under the short-lived Roman republic; and to prove his principles of equality, condescended, with the Prince Colonna, the Duke di Montelibretto, and other Roman nobles, "to serve as a common soldier in a corps, of which the captain was a man who sold tripe and dog's meat in the streets." He was, in 1798, a member of a jacobin club, which the French conferred upon the Romans in compensation for the loss of their liberty, religion, and property. This club

was

was established in the palace of the Duke of Altemps, where, as in France, the sons denounced their parents: noyades were recommended, priests proscribed, and a proposition made, "to begin the regeneration of Rome *by putting to death all people aged above sixty*, as incapable, through the obstinacy of old age, of renouncing their ancient prejudices."

Persons who were present at the nuptials of the Prince Borghese and Madame Le Clerc, affirm, that their behaviour during the religious ceremony, when Cardinal Caprara gave the marriage blessing, was such as to cause even this tool of Napoleone to blush, notwithstanding all the former hypocritical and sacrilegious scenes which he had witnessed, since he began to assist the First Consul in organizing a revolutionary religion in the French commonwealth.

In Les Nouvelles à la Main, of Brumaire, year xii. it is said, that the First Consul declared, *in public*, that considering the situation of the republican treasury, he could not do what he wished for the *dearest* of his sisters; to whom, and to whose husband, when surrounded by courtiers in the drawing-room, he offered presents of little value; but *in secret*, when *en famille*, the new

married

married couple received from him in drafts upon Spain and Portugal, in jewels, &c. to the amount of four millions of livres, besides an *ecrin*, or jewel box, presented by Madame Napoleone, containing jewels worth half a million. The fortune which General Le Clerc left his widow was calculated to be at least six millions; so that this daughter of a sans-culotte brought her princely husband a princely fortune.

At her former marriage, according to the Livre Rouge by Bourrienne, the now Princess Borghese obtained one million of livres for an establishment, half a million for going to St. Domingo, three hundred thousand livres as annuities for some of her husband's relations, presents, jewels, &c. for six hundred thousand livres; and she enjoys the same sum of six hundred thousand livres as a yearly pension during her life *.

* See La Sainte Famille; Les Crimes des Republicains en Italie; Les Nouvelles à la Main, and Le Livre Rouge by Bourrienne.

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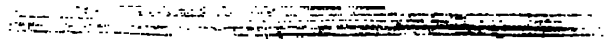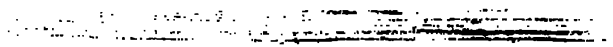
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